

In Memoriam: Edgar Legare Pennington  
*Priest and Doctor*

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

DECEMBER, 1951

•  
"The Journal of the Reverend George Keith  
1702-1704"

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PART I

INTRODUCTION: "Keith the Quaker and Keith the  
Anglican" *By Edgar Legare Pennington*

"AN ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF THE CHURCH  
IN NORTH AMERICA" (November, 1703)

*By George Keith, Evan Evans, Alexander James, Edmund  
Mott, John Talbot, William Vesey, and John Barton.*

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PART II

"A JOURNAL OF TRAVELS FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE  
TO CARATUCK ON THE CONTINENT  
OF NORTH-AMERICA"

*By George Keith*  
(With Notes by Edgar Legare Pennington)

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PART III

APPENDICES AND INDICES

*By Edgar Legare Pennington*

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*In Memoriam: Arthur Barksdale Kinsolving*

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*Index to Volume XX (1950)*

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY : \$1.25 THE COPY--\$5 THE YEAR



*In Memoriam*  
**EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON**  
 January 15, 1891—December 10, 1951  
 Associate Editor, HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, 1932-1951  
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*Requiescat in Pace*  
 [Fuller notices will appear in the March, 1952, issue]

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

## of the Protestant Episcopal Church

Vol. XX

DECEMBER, 1951

No. 4

### "The Journal of the Reverend George Keith 1702-1704"

Edited by EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON, \* Associate Editor

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##### PART II

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The Distinguished American Descendant of the Reverend George Keith



ANNE Keith, daughter of George and Elizabeth (Johnston) Keith, married a Quaker, George Walker, "by the James River," Virginia. She became an Anglican, and, in spite of her husband's disapproval, who remained loyal to Quakerism, she reared her children in the Anglican Church. Margaret Walker, daughter of George and Anne (Keith) Walker, and granddaughter of George Keith, married Thomas Wythe. Their son, and the great-grandson of George Keith, was George Wythe (1726-June 8, 1806), distinguished Virginian:

Signer of the Declaration of Independence; first professor of law of William and Mary College, 1779-1790, which was the first professorship of law in America; sole chancellor of the State of Virginia, 1788-1801, and one of the first enunciators of the doctrine of judicial review, America's unique contribution to juridical theory.

Wythe was "scrupulously impartial, erudite and logical in his opinions." "Magnificently ethical as an attorney," he refused unjust cases. "Possessed of broad education and culture, he was probably the foremost classical scholar in Virginia." He was a vestryman of the Episcopal Church, "was opposed to slavery and by his will emancipated his servants." [See T. S. Cox, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 586-589.]—*Editor's note.*

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## Part I Introduction

### "Keith the Quaker and Keith the Anglican"

By Edgar Legare Pennington



GEORGE Keith's *A Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck on the Continent of North-America* marks the beginning of an epoch in the history of Christian missions. To the student of religion in the New World, it is a book of great significance. It was far-reaching in its effect upon the policy of the newly-founded Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, commonly called the S. P. G., or the Venerable Society, which was chartered June 16, 1701—just over two hundred and fifty years ago.

When one considers that this Society was destined to plant clergymen and schoolmasters in New England, the Middle Colonies, and the South (outside of Virginia and Maryland); that it was to assist in the building and maintenance of schools, where no schools existed; and that it was to give thousands of books and tracts, when such were extremely scarce and when every book was highly prized, one must realize that George Keith's report was a vital initial force in the development of American culture. Lacking in literary artistry and poorly printed, this *Journal* has, nevertheless, proved of tremendous effect.

At a meeting held August 15, 1701, the S. P. G. set about ascertaining the religious state of the American colonies.<sup>1</sup> Information was sought from the bishop of London, from English merchants, from colonial governors, and from the congregations. Letters were written to men of distinction in the plantations. Some of the reports were read at the meeting of September 19th; and some of them were very gloomy. It was at that session that a letter from the Rev. George Keith, "About the State of Quakerism in North America," came to the attention of the Society. The writer's unusual background and qualifications commended themselves to the Society, and it was determined to send Mr.

<sup>1</sup>C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* (London, 1901), p. 7, 7n.

Keith on a tour of inspection. On February 27, 1702, he was appointed the first missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Who was this man, and what were his unusual qualifications and background for this initial tour of inspection?

### GEORGE KEITH—THE QUAKER

George Keith<sup>2</sup> was born in 1638 in Peterhead, Aberdeenshire, Scotland. He was reared in the Presbyterian Church, and educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he received his M. A. in 1658. Although dissatisfied even in college with Calvinism, Keith had a lively interest in theology, and in 1663, at the age of twenty-five, he joined the Quakers. He became one of their foremost apologists, wrote some thirty books and tracts in defence of Quakerism, won recognition as one of its two or three pre-eminent expounders, and was the friend and co-worker of George Fox, William Penn, and Robert Barclay.

Months and even years in prison did not dampen his zeal. In 1664, he spent ten months in jail; in 1669, nine months; in 1676-77, fifteen months; in 1670-80, three short imprisonments; and finally, in 1683-84, a year and a half. During imprisonment he wrote several of his published works; upon his release, he would take up his travels about Scotland and England, visiting the Quakers, encouraging, preaching, organizing. In 1677, with Fox, Penn, and Barclay, he went on an evangelistic tour to Holland and Germany.

Keith was a mathematician above the ordinary, and by profession

<sup>2</sup>GEORGE KEITH appears in all the standard encyclopaedias and biographical dictionaries. For general treatment, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and other reference works.

Surprisingly, considering Keith's importance in both Quaker and Anglican history, over two centuries elapsed before the appearance of a full length biography: see Ethyn Williams Kirby, *George Keith (1638-1716)* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1942), pp. vii, 177.

For an admirable review of this latter volume, see James A. Muller, "George Keith," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XIII (1944), 94-106. Concerning Dr. Kirby's biography, Dr. Muller states:

"One of the chief defects of Mrs. Kirby's treatment is that she so often summarizes Keith's views in her own words, seldom quoting more than a phrase or at most a sentence from Keith himself. Indeed at times she quotes more largely from his opponents than from him. The result is that the reader fails to get the flavor of the man himself, or to have adequate grounds for judging between him and his adversaries, or to be supplied with evidence on which to appraise Mrs. Kirby's estimate of his character" (p. 100n).

It is one of our purposes in reprinting Keith's *Journal* herewith to enable the reader "to get the flavor of the man himself."

he was a surveyor. In 1672, at the age of thirty-four, he married Elizabeth Johnston, who brought him land near Aberdeen and a zeal for Quakerism equal to his own. For a time, in 1681-82, he taught school in England.

Keith's restless nature and the opportunity for religious freedom had for some time turned his thoughts toward the New World. His last imprisonment of a year and a half, 1683-84, gave impetus to the idea. Another factor was the beginning of deep theological differences between Keith and the London Quakers—at that time, a cloud no larger than a man's hand. Keith was growing theologically more conservative than the latter.

In August, 1684, Keith was released from Newgate prison in London, and was appointed surveyor-general of East Jersey, a new haven for Quakers. Early in 1685 he arrived in Perth Amboy, capital of East Jersey, with his wife and two daughters.

In 1686, Keith reached a satisfactory settlement of the boundary line between New York and New Jersey, but his line between East (i. e., North) and West (i. e., South) Jersey, run in 1687 from Little Egg Harbor on the Atlantic coast in a northwesterly direction to the Delaware River, was vehemently rejected by West Jersey as unfair, because it gave too much territory to East Jersey. In 1720, however, Keith was vindicated by having his line accepted.

The proprietors of East Jersey, Quakers like himself, rewarded Keith with a vast property—a fine large house in Amboy, 700 acres of land in Monmouth County (where he founded the town of Freehold), 300 acres in Middlesex County, and 500 acres in Pennsylvania, this latter being the gift of William Penn.

Materially, Keith was prosperous; religiously, he was sorely troubled. The Quakers in the New World were often ignorant, and "Ranters" flourished. The younger generation were growing up with inadequate knowledge of the Bible, and any formal religious instruction was considered unnecessary.

Keith reacted to all this by increasing insistence upon the necessity of belief in the fundamentals of the Christian faith. This was revealed in the publication in 1688 of a catechism, *The Fundamental Truths of Christianity*, by the character of his defence of Quakerism in New England, 1688-1690, against the attacks of Cotton Mather and others, and by *A Plain Short Catechism for Children & Youth*, published in 1690. He showed an appreciation of the two sacraments not current among American Quakers.

In 1689, Keith moved from Freehold to Philadelphia, and became the head of the new Quaker school. But this did not long satisfy him,

and the sale of most of his East Jersey property was apparently in preparation of his return to England. The materialism, heterodoxy, and lack of intellectual stimulus in America had disillusioned him. But that return was delayed by a crisis in American Quakerism, of which Keith was the storm center.

In 1690, Keith sought further to reform American Quakerism by presenting to the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia and Burlington a draft for church government and discipline of ten articles, each taken from the published writings of Quakers. In brief, the more important ones were: (1) the introduction of a confession of faith to be accepted by all entering the meeting, including children of believers when they reached the age of discretion; (2) the appointment of elders and deacons, elected by all members, to help "Friends in the Ministry"; (3) a restriction on speaking in meetings to those qualified by knowledge of Quaker beliefs and by spiritual and emotional balance.

The bitter controversy which ensued cannot be detailed here.<sup>3</sup> Keith's proposals were rejected in Philadelphia and Burlington as "downright popery," and, ironically, the protagonist of orthodoxy was openly accused of heresy. Although a Quaker, Keith was never one to run from a fight, and he defended himself with heat, both by voice and pen. Finally, the Yearly Meeting of 1692 formally disowned Keith, whereupon a schism resulted, a fourth of its membership withdrew, and the "Christian Quakers," with Keith as their leader, came into existence. Some fifteen Meetings were organized by the latter in East and West Jersey and Pennsylvania.

To cause a schism had never been Keith's intention, and, smarting under the treatment of the majority, he determined to seek vindication in London. But before he left, Keith and his followers, conservative in theology compared to their opponents, proved themselves far ahead of their time with respect to the social evil of slavery. A result of their Monthly Meeting of October, 1693, was *An Exhortation and Caution to Friends Concerning Buying or Keeping of Negroes*—a condemnation of slavery almost a century before the main body of Quakers disavowed it.

When Keith returned to London late in 1693, he undoubtedly expected a speedy vindication, but he was reckoning without his host.

"The number of schisms . . . had not made Quakers adopt a tolerant attitude toward separatists. That kindly tolerance which they extended to savages and Turks stopped distinctly short of apostates. Quakerism, from being an individualistic faith, emphasizing the doctrine of the Light within and the

<sup>3</sup>See Ethyn W. Kirby, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-94.

consequent value of each member's testimony, no matter how feeble and halting, had gradually come to stress corporate ideals. The Meeting for Sufferings, the Second Day's Morning Meeting, bore witness to the unity of Quakerdom. Their attitude toward the schismatic was one of wrath at his breaking down this unity, tempered by sorrow for his pitiable spiritual state."<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately for Keith, his Pennsylvania publications, in which was set forth his account of the schism, and of what he regarded as the heretical, not to say pagan, doctrines of many Quakers, had reached London a year before he did. These were reprinted, hawked about the streets, bought up by the opponents of Quakerism, especially by the clergy, and offered to any one interested, even to young Quakers, as evidence that if you were a Quaker you could not be a Christian.

Representatives of Keith's American enemies also arrived in London. The result was that the Yearly Meeting of 1694 demanded that Keith retract his published attacks on the Quakers. This he refused to do. After another year of pamphlet warfare, the Yearly Meeting of 1695 formally disowned Keith.

Undeterred, Keith "hired a hall"—Turner's Hall in Philpot Lane, opened a Meeting for "Reformed" or "Christian" Quakers, administered the two sacraments, and gained a large body of adherents. To this group he ministered for the next five years. Moreover, his prolific pen continued to write, especially tracts exposing Quaker heresies. The most effective of these were probably *The Deism of William Penn* and *The Standard of the Quakers Examined*. By this time he had come to feel that current Quakerism, if not deistic, was virtually an abettor of deism.

The Church of England in the 1690's was experiencing a renewal of life. The flight of James II and the coronation of William III had saved the Anglican Church from the aggressions of the Roman Catholic Church. Relieved from being on the defensive, it adopted an aggressive strategy of its own on three fronts: against deism, Quakerism, and, positively, in the deepening of the spiritual life, based on a more thorough knowledge of the Church and its responsibilities. Two tangible fruits of this revival were the founding of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (the S. P. C. K.) in 1699, and the S. P. G. in 1701. In Henry Compton, the see of London had for the first time a bishop who took seriously his responsibilities for the Anglican churches overseas.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Ethyn W. Kirby, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>5</sup>For HENRY COMPTON, see below, Part II, Footnote #309.



GEORGE KEITH—THE ANGLICAN

Concerning George Keith's religious state at the turn of the century, his biographer writes:

"The controversy which reached its climax in Keith's ejection from Quakerdom drove him rapidly in the direction in which he had been traveling for years. As he weighed arguments and pondered over his spiritual life, as he associated more and more with the Anglican clergy, and as he reacted further and further from what seemed to him to be the formlessness of Quaker dogma, he became more and more aware of the significance of outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace and of the advantages of authority in religious matters. These consolations, he decided, were supplied by the established church. Its dignity and its assurance appealed to one who in 1670 had lamented the lack of decorum in Quaker meetings; its learned and zealous clergy reminded him of his early friendship with Henry More; and, above all, its struggle against deism aroused within him, as he recalled his American experiences, a sympathetic response. The formalism which had expressed itself in his writings almost from the first found congenial the definite creeds and ordered service of the Anglican church. To one smarting from the taunts and petty insults of the Quakers, association with the leading clergy of his day afforded healing balm. But, most of all, the Church Militant appealed to him who was ever a fighter, and his participation in its campaign against the Quakers gradually led to his affiliation with it."<sup>6</sup>

On March 8, 1699, at its first recorded meeting, the S. P. C. K. appointed Dr. Thomas Bray, its founder, and Col. Colchester to confer with Keith. In May of the same year, he was engaged as its agent to travel about England, seeking to win the Quakers back to the Church. The S. P. C. K. also undertook the printing and distribution of some of his anti-Quaker pamphlets.

On the first Sunday in February, 1700, Keith made his first communion in the Church of England. In May, 1700, he was made a deacon by Bishop Compton of London; in March, 1702, he was advanced to the priesthood by Bishop William Lloyd of Worcester.

Thus George Keith, now the doughty champion of Anglicanism, did not enter its lists until he was sixty-two years old. He began his greatest service to the Anglican Church at the age of sixty-four; and when he completed it, he was sixty-six.

<sup>6</sup>Ethyn W. Kirby, *op. cit.*, p. 113.



## THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY TOUR, 1702-1704

On April 28, 1702, the Rev. George Keith and the Rev. Patrick Gordon,<sup>7</sup> recently appointed missionary of the S. P. G. for Long Island, New York, sailed from Cowes on the Isle of Wight in the Queen's Ship *Centurion*, bound for Boston. Among their fellow-passengers were Colonel Joseph Dudley,<sup>8</sup> governor of New England; Colonel Lewis Morris,<sup>9</sup> governor of New Jersey, and the Rev. John Talbot,<sup>10</sup> chaplain of the ship. The last named was so impressed with Keith's undertaking that he enlisted as a missionary.

They landed at Boston on St. Barnabas' Day, June 11, 1702; and soon Keith and Talbot were actively engaged in their mission. The heat which this tour generated among the nonconformists showed itself immediately, beginning with Keith's sermon in Queen's (now King's) Chapel, Boston, on Sunday, June 14th. On July 1st, Keith began his visits to the towns about Boston, starting with Cambridge and Harvard College.

The chronological details of this remarkable tour are set forth in Keith's *Journal* (Part II, *below*), and need not be repeated here. Fortunately, we have "An Account of the State of the Church in North America," prepared by the seven Anglican clergy then in the Middle colonies as one fruit of their meeting in New York during the week of November 9, 1702, and sent to the S. P. G.<sup>11</sup> This enables us to give a "before and after" appraisal of the state of the Anglican Church in the North, if not in the South.

THE STATE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN THE  
NORTHERN COLONIES, 1702

In 1702, the state of the Anglican Church in the North was very sad. Two years before, sixty clergymen, forty of whom were in Virginia and Maryland, were reported to be in the American colonies. Where the twenty (outside of Virginia and Maryland) were, the record does not say. In 1702, the condition was no better, if as good. When the New York meeting of the clergy convened in November, 1702, this was the situation:

<sup>7</sup>See *below*, Part II, Footnote #4.

<sup>8</sup>See *below*, Part II, Footnote #1.

<sup>9</sup>See *below*, Part II, Footnote #3.

<sup>10</sup>See *below*, Part II, Footnotes #17, 142, 253, 305.

<sup>11</sup>For a reprint of it, see *immediately below*.

*In New England:* Samuel Myles<sup>12</sup> and Christopher Bridge<sup>13</sup> were at Queen's (now King's) Chapel, Boston; John Lockyer<sup>14</sup> had come to Newport, Rhode Island, in 1701, but he was dead before Keith left for England in 1704

*In New York:* William Vesey<sup>15</sup> was the rector of Trinity Church, New York City; Edmond Mott was chaplain to the fort;<sup>16</sup> John Bartow was the S. P. G. missionary at Westchester.<sup>17</sup> Patrick Gordon,<sup>18</sup> who had come over on the same ship with Keith, died a month after his arrival—in July, 1702.

*In New Jersey:* There was no settled clergyman, but Alexander Innes, a nonjuror and former chaplain of the New York fort, officiated there occasionally.<sup>19</sup>

*In Pennsylvania and Delaware:* Evan Evans,<sup>20</sup> and his assistant, John Thomas,<sup>21</sup> were the only settled clergymen in the entire province, including the three lower counties comprising Delaware.

Keith and Talbot added to the above make a total of eleven Anglican clergymen north of Maryland. But when Keith, Gordon, and Talbot arrived, June 11, 1702, there were only eight Anglican clergymen north of Maryland: Myles, Bridge, and Lockyer in all of New England; Vesey and Mott in New York, Bartow having arrived after Keith in 1702; Innes alone in New Jersey; and Evans and Thomas in Pennsylvania and Delaware.

As we shall see, when Keith sailed for home on June 8, 1704, the situation was considerably different.

This clergy meeting of the week of November 9, 1702, was not only important in itself; it established a very significant precedent. It was the first gathering of its kind among the Anglican clergy north of Maryland, and without benefit of the authority of a commissary, for

<sup>12</sup>For Myles, *see below*, Part II, Footnote #6.

<sup>13</sup>For Bridge, *see below*, Part II, Footnote #7.

<sup>14</sup>For Lockyer, *see below*, Part II, Footnote #53.

<sup>15</sup>For Vesey, *see below*, Part II, Footnote #109.

<sup>16</sup>EDMOND MOTT was chaplain to the British forces in New York, 1696-1704. He died in New York, 1704. [See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XVI (1947), 336, 336n.]

<sup>17</sup>JOHN BARTOW had been vicar of Pampisford, Cambridge, England. He was the second S. P. G. missionary in the province of New York, serving Westchester, 1702-1725. He died in 1725. [See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XVI (1947), 328, 328n.]

<sup>18</sup>For Gordon, *see below*, Part II, Footnote #4.

<sup>19</sup>For Innes, *see below*, Part II, Footnote #128.

<sup>20</sup>For Evans, *see below*, Part II, Footnote #164.

<sup>21</sup>For Thomas, *see below*, Part II, Footnote #105.

Vesey was not made commissary to the bishop of London until 1712. Commissaries were never popular in the North, the clergy preferred to gather in voluntary conventions and discuss the state and needs of the Church, and they were well trained in synodical action during the next seventy-five years—especially in New England, New York, and New Jersey—in preparation for the day when the American Church had to stand on its own feet. Their pleas for a bishop in America, the need of which they realized as early as 1702, were to go unanswered for over fourscore years, but it was synodical action that finally brought the episcopate to their spiritual descendants.

#### THE ANGLICAN KEITH AND THE AMERICAN QUAKERS

As so much of Keith's intercourse during this two years' mission was with the Quakers, it is well to bear in mind that from 1656 to 1780 Quakerism was an expanding force in the colonies.

"There were times within this period when it seemed destined to become one of the foremost religious factors in the life and development of America. It is clearly evident from their own writings that at the opening of the eighteenth century the Quaker leaders *expected* to make their type of religion prevail in the western continent."<sup>22</sup>

In Rhode Island, for more than a hundred years, Quakers were continually in office. For thirty-six terms, the governorship of Rhode Island was occupied by members of the Society of Friends. In Pennsylvania, the Quakers had one of the largest and most influential colonies of the New World in their own hands. In 1674, they came into possession of West Jersey; in 1679, East Jersey passed into their control. They dominated the government of New Jersey until it became a royal colony. Until 1701, they constituted the only organized religious denomination in North Carolina. They were numerous in Massachusetts; and about a third of the inhabitants of the Piscataqua region of Maine and New Hampshire were Quakers.<sup>23</sup>

No Anglican understood as thoroughly as George Keith the sources of Quaker strength and the ways and means of their strategy. In "An Account of the State of the Church in North America," which Keith undoubtedly drafted, twenty-four ways and means are enumerated in answer to the question, "How Quakers and others support their

<sup>22</sup>Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, Macmillan, 1911), p. xiv.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xv.

Meetings and Schools."<sup>24</sup> Indeed, Keith pays the Quakers the compliment, in answering the question as to proper ways and means of how "to put a stop to them," of advocating the use of "some of the like ways and means above mentioned, such as are lawfull, proper and convenient."

Long before the S. P. C. K. and the S. P. G. were organized by the Anglicans, the Quakers gathered "great and large collections of Money," "especially at their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, which they put into a Common stock." This money was used for propaganda. If the English Quakers had any doubts about converting England to their religion, they were all the more determined "to make their type of religion prevail in the western continent." In pursuit of this design, the Church of England had much to learn from them, especially the following items of Quaker strategy:

6. By sending over great numbers of Missionaries yearly from England into these Parts and furnishing them well out of their National Stock, especially since Mr. Keith left them.

7. By spreading Books, printed both in England and here and dispersing them at cheap rates, which leavens their youth with prejudices against the [Anglican] Church and her ministers.

9. By frequent Meetings of their Speakers to consider ways and means to propagate their errors.

13. By building diverse large and fair Structures, for their Meeting houses, especially in Philadelphia, Burlington [New Jersey], and Rhode Island.

15. By keeping a true and exact Register of all their Births, Burials, and Marriages, and all Passages, Travels, and Sufferings of their travelling friends. . . .

16. By collecting into volumes the particular Treatises of the preaching Quakers of Account after their Deaths. . . .

21. By setting up Meetings in all places where they can find access, though they have no resident Ministers to preach and pray in these said Meetings. . . .

22. By the People's great liberality to all their Itinerant Preachers. . . .

<sup>24</sup>See below, the conclusion of the next article, "An Account of the State of the Church in North America."

Keith also reported that their propaganda treasury was enriched

"by the many and sometimes great Legacies which the Quakers at their Death give to the Common Stock, they appointing persons to visit the sick, upon that Account, so that in Philadelphia they have £1000 given by Legacies in about two years last past, as appears by the Records of their Wills in Philadelphia."

Keith's former identification with the Quakers gave him an introduction to their gatherings and an understanding of their viewpoint. His *Journal* is full of his persistent attempts to turn such an advantage to account in winning them to the English Church.

His prior knowledge of the ground, gained during his Quaker days, led him to concentrate on Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey, and Long Island, New York, "where we continued longest, and found the greatest Occasion of our Service." There were to be found the largest number of his former Quaker allies. After he had returned to London in 1693-94, he had kept in touch with them by letters. In Philadelphia, he now found, 1702-1704, that many of them had joined Christ Church in that city during the rectorship of the Rev. Thomas Clayton, under whom in about two years the congregation had increased from 50 to 700 members, and a handsome church had been built. The Rev. Evan Evans, Clayton's successor, had arrived late in 1700. He reported to Keith that

"since he was Minister there [from the autumn of 1700], he had baptized of Men, Women, and Children, in *Pensilvania* and *West-Jersey*, of *English* and *Welsh*, about Five hundred; many, or most of them, having been Quakers, and the Children of Quakers, and Quakerly affected; and besides these, many who had left Quakerism, and had joined to the Church, had been baptized in Infancy, not having been born of Quaker Parents."

Since Keith's arrival in 1702 in Pennsylvania, West and East Jersey, and New York,

"There have been, by modest Computation, at least two hundred Persons baptized of Quakers, and their Children, and Servants, and of such as were Quakerly affected, by Mr. *Talbot*, and Mr. *Evans*, and by me, and some by the Reverend Mr. *Vesey*, Minister of *New-York*, in that Town. And besides these, many who had been baptized in Infancy, have come off from Quakerism and joined to the Church in these Countries, since we travelled and preached among them, and had much Conference with diverse of them in private from House to House . . . ."

The Quakers were understandably furious with Keith "the apostate." To their fury was now added alarm. In England, a revived Church of England was making ineffective their best propaganda efforts to convert the English people to Quakerism. Now, Keith "the Anglican" was a symbol of the outreach of that revived Church, endangering their high hopes and good prospects of making this choice part of the New World "their very own." Naturally, the Quaker leaders, both in England and America, used every means within their power to nullify his efforts. However impressive or unimpressive the number of Keith's conversions to Anglicanism may have been, one thing was certain: he had driven into the Quaker ranks a wedge, in the shape of the Anglican Church, more effective and more enduring than the "Keithian" Quakers could ever be. The Anglican Church was in America to stay.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN AMERICA AFTER  
KEITH'S DEPARTURE, 1704

The death rate among the Anglican clergy in the northern American colonies during the first decade of the eighteenth century was appalling. If the Quakers knew about it, as they probably did, they must have considered it a visitation of Providence.

Thomas Clayton of Christ Church, Philadelphia, died about 1700—two years before Keith arrived. But Patrick Gordon, Keith's companion on the *Centurion*, died a month after his arrival in 1702; John Lockyer, of Rhode Island, died in 1704; Edmond Mott, chaplain of the fort in New York, also died in 1704. All were worthy men, and could be ill spared. Thomas Pritchard, inducted into the mission of Rye, New York, in April, 1704, died a year later—in March or April, 1705. Five priests lost by death during five years among such a small number was a heavy toll.

On September 27, 1709, John Talbot wrote the S. P. G.:

"When I reflect on the Progress of the Gospel (I will not say the Church for we never had it here, nor never shall till there comes over a Propagator [i. e., bishop] to plant and build it up) a Cloud of melancholy thoughts throng'd upon me, for when the Shepherds are smitten the Sheep of the flock must needs be scatter'd abroad. M<sup>r</sup> [Thoroughgood] Moore, M<sup>r</sup> [John] Brook, M<sup>r</sup> [George] Muirson, M<sup>r</sup> [Andrew] Rudman, M<sup>r</sup> [Thomas] Jenkins, M<sup>r</sup> [William] Urquhart all Worthy men dead in less than two Years . . ."



Eleven clergymen lost by death in less than a decade was ground for melancholy. Yet the Church was making headway, and it was visible to Keith at the end of his two years of missionary duty.

At the conclusion of his *Journal*, Keith states :

"There are now Thirteen Ministers in the Northern Parts of *America*, all placed within these two Years last past, and generally Supported and Maintained by the *Honourable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*."

Here he may be anticipating the coming of ministers whose appointments had been made, as in the case of George Ross at New Castle, Delaware, but who had not in 1704 arrived. However that may be, we can tell pretty accurately who were serving the Church at the end of 1704.

*In New England:* Myles and Bridge were still in Boston; William Barclay had come to Braintree, Massachusetts; and James Honyman was about to be transferred from Jamaica, Long Island, New York, to Newport, Rhode Island, if he had not already arrived, to succeed the late John Lockyer. *Total*, four.

*In New York:* Vesey was in New York City; Bartow was in Westchester; Thomas Pritchard was newly arrived in Rye; William Urquhart reached Jamaica, Long Island, in 1704, in succession to Honyman; Thoroughgood Moore was missionary to the Mohawk Indians near Albany; John Thomas, Evans' former assistant in Philadelphia, had been priested and settled in Hempstead, Long Island. Alexander Stuart had been appointed by the S. P. G. to Bedford, New York, but there is no record of his having served there, and is not counted in this appraisal. *Total*, six.

*In New Jersey:* Although Innes, who lived until 1713, was never accepted by the S. P. G. as one of its missionaries, probably because he was a nonjuror, Talbot reported to Keith, October 20, 1704, that Innes "has been so zealous for y<sup>e</sup> Service of y<sup>e</sup> Church since you put him upon it." Talbot was the first rector of St. Mary's, Burlington, but he made missionary tours all over West and East Jersey, and was a host in himself. Some time in 1704 he was joined by John Sharpe in missionary work, making *three* Anglican clergymen in New Jersey in 1704.

Upon the death of Chaplain Edmond Mott of the fort in New York, about July, 1704, Lord Cornbury offered Talbot the post at £130 per annum, plus board and lodging, but Talbot was unwilling to leave the service of the S. P. G.



Cornbury then offered it to Sharpe, who accepted the post on October 20, 1704, where he remained until he returned to London in 1717.

*In Pennsylvania and Delaware:* Evans was in Philadelphia, with John Clubb as his assistant and schoolmaster in succession to John Thomas. Henry Nichols was the first settled S. P. G. missionary in Pennsylvania, stationed at Chester. Andrew Rudman, a Swedish minister, was serving Oxford. Thomas Crawford was in Dover, Delaware. *Total, five.*

As we have seen, when Keith and Talbot arrived June 11, 1702, there were only eight Anglican clergymen in the American colonies north of Maryland. By the end of 1704, there were at least eighteen resident in that area, but they were not all S. P. G. missionaries. In spite of the tragic loss of Gordon, Lockyer, and Mott, this was an increase of over one hundred per cent in about two years in the number of working clergy. During the next year, 1705, three were to be added to their number: John Brook in East Jersey; Aeneas Mackenzie on Staten Island, New York; and George Ross in New Castle, Delaware.

But one of Keith's greatest and most immediate accomplishments cannot be measured by statistics, although its tangible quality is substantiated by eloquent testimony. His travels had been of great help to the struggling and lonely American missionaries, not only in the North, but in Virginia and Maryland as well. They had been stimulated by his brilliant mind and his forceful preaching, and their congregations had been aroused to a deeper sense of loyalty. Furthermore, the American Anglicans, handicapped by the want of direct episcopal supervision and restricted by the lack of a bishop in residence among them, were reminded by the visits of Keith and Talbot that the Church of England, hamstrung by the domination and indifference of the state in refusing to allow the Church to send a bishop overseas, was not itself indifferent to their needs.

Lord Cornbury, the governor of New York, in writing to the S. P. G. and the bishop of London, testified to Keith's perseverance in traveling through all sorts of weather, to the insolence of the Quakers toward him, and to his care in visiting the Anglican churches.

"I must in Justice to him say that he has Omitted no Opportunity nor Spared no Pains where he could advance the Interest of the Church of Christ."<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Quoted in Ethyn W. Kirby, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

In 1704, the "Minister and Vestry" of Christ Church, Philadelphia, in a letter of gratitude to the S. P. G., were equally warm in their appreciation of Keith:

" . . . particularly we crave leave to return to you our most thankfull acknowledgements for your pious care in sending over the Rev. Mr. Keith whose unparalleled zeal and assiduity, whose eminent piety, whose indefatigable diligence (beyond what could be expected from a person of his declining years), whose frequent preaching and learned conferences, whose strenuous and elaborate writing made him highly and signally instrumentall of promoting the Church and advancing the number of Christians not only here but in the neighbouring provinces."<sup>26</sup>

John Talbot, who at the age of fifty-seven threw in his lot with Keith, and who like Keith was to render his greatest service to the Church in his advanced years and win the appellation, "Apostle of New Jersey," was more robust in his appreciation. Constant association with Keith for two years did not dampen his initial enthusiasm. Writing uninhibited to his clerical friend, Richard Gillingham, vicar of Chigwell in Essex, he said, under date of November 24, 1702:

" . . . Indeed he is the fittest man that ever came over for this Province, he is a well study'd Divine, a good Philosopher & Preacher, but above all an excellent Disputant, especially against the Quakers, who use to Challenge all mankind formerly, now all the Friends (or Enemies rather) are not able to answer one Geo: Keith, he knows the Depths of Satan within them and all the Doublings & Windings of *the Snake in the Grass*; In short he's become the best Champion ag<sup>st</sup> all Dissenters that the Church ever had, & has Sett up Such a Light in these dark places that by God's Blessing will not be putt out . . . ."<sup>27</sup>

The next year, April 10, 1703, writing again to Gillingham, he was still of the same opinion:

"I look upon it that the Sending Mr Keith, in Quality of a Missionary to travel for the good of Churches, has been the Best Service that has been done yet for the Church of England in these Parts of the World; for he is a general Scholar, an able

<sup>26</sup>Quoted in C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G., 1701-1900* (London, 1901), p. 34.

<sup>27</sup>See Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot, 1645-1727* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1938), p. 86. This work has all of Talbot's extant letters in full.

*The Snake in the Grass* is the title of an anti-Quaker pamphlet, by the Rev. Charles Leslie, published in 1696, which was widely distributed.

disputant and a Perfect honest man. He is in a Word Hereticorum Malleus, & so he had need, having to deal with smoe of the worst that ever troubled the Church or the World. . . . Since I came to be more acquainted with the Quakers I have much worse Opinion of them than ever I had."<sup>28</sup>

Writing to the S. P. G. on April 7, 1704, when Keith was nearing the end of his tour, Talbot was no less vigorous in expressing his appreciation of Keith:

"Mr Keith has fought the Good fight, finisht his Race, bravely Defended the Faith, Done the Church of Christ true & Laudable Service, w<sup>ch</sup> I trust will be regarded here, and Rewarded hereafter. . . . I may say he has done more for the Church than any. Yea than all that have been before him. He Came out worthy of his Mission & of the Gosp<sup>l</sup> of Christ. Taking nothing of the Heathen that he came to Proselyte; besides his Ordinary or rather Extraordinary Travells, his Preaching Excellent Sermons upon all Occasions, his Disputes w<sup>th</sup> all sorts of Heathens & Hereticks, (who Superabound in these Parts, Africa has not more Monsters than America) He has written & Printed 10 or a Doz: Books & Sermons, much at his own Charge, & Distributed them freely, w<sup>ch</sup> are all Excell<sup>t</sup> in their kind, and have done Good Service all along shoar. Now since Friends must part, I wish, I pray God, shew some token upon him for Good, that he may arrive safe in England where he would be, that all his Adversaries may see it and be Asham'd of their Impious Omens &c. . . ."<sup>29</sup>

To the student of the history of the Venerable Society, it is remarkable how few serious mistakes it made whether in general policy or in detailed execution of that policy, especially in view of the fact that its headquarters were 3,000 miles away from America and few of its governing board ever saw America. This was in part due to the fact that it had the means of obtaining pretty accurate data, and could assess such data objectively.

Keith's missionary tour was especially valuable to them for two reasons: (1) When he embarked, June 8, 1704, on the Queen's Ship *Dread-Nought*, and landed at the Downs on August 6th, he took with him a reliable insight into the needs of the colonists and that basic knowledge which was essential to the Society in the formulation of a sound policy for its operations; and (2) until his death in 1716, he was available for consultation, and was in fact frequently consulted. His mission was warmly appreciated by the S. P. G., and he was made

<sup>28</sup>See Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot, 1645-1727* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1938), p. 88.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 98.

a member. For over a year he was diligent in attending its monthly meetings, as well as those of the S. P. C. K., and sometimes twice a month. "The records of the S. P. G. show the frequency with which his knowledge of and eager interest in the welfare of the Church in America were utilized," even after he had moved to Edburton in Sussex.<sup>30</sup>

### KEITH'S LAST YEARS

When Keith returned to London in 1704, he had no official cure, but he served for some time as lecturer in All Hallows Church, Lombard Street. The preparation of his *Journal* for publication, paid for by the Society, required great care in order that the Quakers could find no errors to exploit. This was not completed until near the end of 1705 or the beginning of 1706.

Meanwhile, St. Andrew's Church, Edburton, Sussex, a living under the patronage of the archbishop of Canterbury, fell vacant, and was offered to Keith. Late in 1705, he moved into it.<sup>31</sup>

Faithful in the discharge of his parochial duties, Keith yet found time to carry on, with voice and pen, his war against the Quakers. Until 1710, when he was seventy-two years old, his body was adequate to the task, but from that year until he died, March, 1716, his battle was with disease. On March 29, 1716, he was buried.

### EPILOGUE

The significance of George Keith's service to the Anglican Church in America, as represented by his two years of missionary travels, is best summed up in his own words near the end of his *Journal*:

"To many, our Ministry was as the sowing the Seed and Planting, who, probably, never so much as heard one orthodox Sermon preached to them before we came and preached among them, who received the Word with Joy; and of whom we have good Hope, that they will be as the good Ground, *That bringeth forth Fruit, some Thirty, some Sixty, and some an Hundred Fold.* And to many others it was a Watering to what had been formerly Sown and Planted among them; some of the good Fruit whereof we did observe, to the Glory of God, and our great Comfort, while we were with them, even such Fruits of true Piety and good Lives, and sober and righteous Living, as prove the Trees to be good from which they did proceed."

<sup>30</sup>Ethyn W. Kirby, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>31</sup>For more details of Keith's last years, see Ethyn W. Kirby, *op. cit.*, Chapter XI, "The Rector of Edburton," pp. 148-158.

## "An Account of the State of the Church in North America, by Mr. George Keith and Others."\*

[As of November, 1702]



BRIEF account of the State of the Church in the American parts, hereafter mentioned, and a scheme of such proper and expedient ways and methods as we humbly Conceive by the blessing of God, may be useful to the reducing the main body of the Dissenters of all sorts to y<sup>e</sup> Church of England, by way of Question and Answer.

[*Question I.*] In what circumstances the Church of England is, as by Law Established and the Schools?

PENNSYLVANIA.—There is no Church or School established by any Law in the Province, nevertheless in Philadelphia (the Chief Town in Pensilvania) there is one Church consisting of a large Congregation, having Mr. Evans for their Minister, and Mr. Thomas his Assistant, with three Congregations in the Country, viz. Chester, Radner (being a Welch Church), and Oxford, which are supplied only in the week days by the said Ministers.

WEST NEW JERSEY.—There is no Church or School established by Law of the Province.

EAST NEW JERSEY.—There are eight English Towns, and two Dutch, but neither Church or School established by any Law.

NEW YORK.—There are some Counties, five of which are inhabited by Dutch, and those of Dutch extraction, viz. Albany, Ulster, Dutchess, Orange, and King's County, in which the Church and Church of Eng-

\*This "Account of the State of the Church" in the American colonies north of Maryland, drawn up by seven of the eleven Anglican clergymen then in that area during the week of November 9, 1702, is a graphic picture of the weakness of the Anglican Church at that time; but it is also a testimonial to the zeal and ability of the men who drafted it, for it clearly shows that they had a keen grasp of the basic conditions with which the Church had to deal and of the strategy needed by the Church to meet those conditions. See *above*, The Introduction: "Keith the Quaker and Keith the Anglican," for a discussion of its significance.

For biographical sketches of the persons mentioned in this "Account," both clerical and lay, see *below*, the Index to the Notes of Part II.

This "Account" is reprinted from *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society for the Year 1851* (New York, 1851), pp. xv-xxi—a volume now scarce, and not readily available to students outside of the sphere of select libraries. —*Editor's note.*

land Schools have not yet been settled, but the Presence of the present Governor of that Province, his Excellency the Lord Cornbury, has mightily influenced many of the people of the said Counties to desire that Church of England Ministers and Schoolmasters may be sent amongst them, particularly Albany representatives have desired his Lordship that an English Schoolmaster might be established in that county, and some of the Inhabitants of Ulster County passionately desire a Church of England Minister; Suffolk County is the only English County without a legal Establishment of a Church of England Minister; for in y<sup>e</sup> County of West Chester, Queen's County, Richmond, and New York County, the Church is Established by Law, this Province, though it hath a great number of Inhabitants, could never yet obtain a publick legally Established School.

NEW ENGLAND.—There is no Church, nor Church of England School established by Law in all the Colonies Eastward of the Province of New York, viz. Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth and New Hampshire, except at Boston, where there is one Church of England, consisting of a large Congregation, having two Ministers, Mr. Myles and Mr. Bridge, and one in Rhode Island consisting of a large Congregation and one Minister, viz. Mr. Lockier [Lockyer], and another in Braintry which has no Minister.

[*Question II.*] How Ministers and Schoolmasters are maintained?

PHILADELPHIA.—The two Ministers are maintained by the Voluntary subscriptions of the Congregation, and the constant munificence of his Excellency Col. Nicholson, Governor of Virginia.

JERSEYS.—In the West and East New Jerseys, there is neither Minister nor maintenance.

NEW YORK.—A Provision is made by Law for six Ministers, viz: in the City and County of New York £100 per annum of the money of this province, for one Minister; In Queens County on Nassau Island £120 per annum for two Ministers to be equally divided betwixt them; £40 per annum for one Minister in the County of Richmond; in West Chester County a maintenance for two Ministers, viz. £50 for each, besides her Majesty allows £130 per annum for the maintenance of the Chaplain of the Forces. There is yet no provision for Schoolmasters made by Law, though by the zealous Recommendation of the Lord Cornbury to the general Assembly, a legal maintenance is undoubtedly expected, and till then the Church of England Schoolmaster in the County of New York as heretofore, will be supported



by the Voluntary Contributions of those whose children are instructed by him; notwithstanding it is humbly conceived that an annual Pension from England for the Support and farther encouragement of some Ministers and Schoolmasters in poor Towns will be of great use and service to the Church.

BOSTON.—Mr. Myles is maintained by the Contribution of the Church and Mr. Bridge out of her Majesty's Treasury in England.

RHODE ISLAND.—Mr. Lockier, the Minister, is maintained partly by the Contributions of the people, and partly by a Supply from England.

[*Question III.*] What Number of Churches, Schools and Ministers?

As for Pensilvania, Jerseys and New England this is answered already *ut supra*.

NEW YORK.—There are in this Province one Chapel and four Churches, viz. one Chapel in Fort William Henry, two Churches in Queens County, one in the County of West Chester, and one large Church in the City of New York, founded *Anno Domini*, 1695, and erected by the charitable Contributions of many well disposed persons, especially the generous donations of his Excellency Col. Nicholson, Governor of Virginia, and Col. Fletcher, late Governor of New York.

The Reverend Mr. Edmund Moll [Mott] is Chaplain to the Fort and Forces; Mr. Bartow, Rector of West Chester County; Mr. Vesey, Rector of New York; the Reverend Mr. Gordon, late Rector of Queens County, who to the grief of all good men is removed by Death.

No School house yet erected in this Province.

[*Question IV.*] How the People are inclined to promote them?

PHILADELPHIA.—The English Congregation is very forward to encourage and promote the Interest of the Church of England; as for the congregations of the County, being lately reduced from Quakerism, they are very averse from a Maintenance and therefore the Ministers of Philadelphia freely serve the Cures.

EAST AND WEST JERSEY.—There is a considerable number of People that were formerly Quakers, and other Dissenters in a good disposition to embrace Communion with the Church, but not so forward to contribute to the Maintenance of those who discharge these offices, wherewith God is served by his Church.



NEW YORK.—In all these Counties where the Church is established by the law of this Province, the People generally are in a readiness to embrace the Doctrines and Worship of the Church, and to Encourage Free Schools.

NEW ENGLAND.—In Swansey, Naraganset, Seconet, Braintry, Salem, Ipswich, and Piscataway, there are several hundreds of People in those and other places of New England, desirous of Church of England Ministers among them, a considerable Number of which in Swansey and Seconet have already petitioned the Lord Bishop of London for two Ministers.

[Question V.] What Number of them are of the Church of England and in what Places?

In PHILADELPHIA and the adjacent places by a modest Computation, there seems to be 7 or 800, the number being considerably increased since the arrival of the two present Ministers.

EAST AND WEST JERSEYS, *ut supra* in the 4th Question.

NEW YORK.—That a large Church is now thronged, and the Congregation daily increasing, by an addition of Dutch and French, as well as English People, also in other Counties of this Province, the number of those who are earnestly desirous of a Church Minister is very considerable, though at present the exact number cannot be known.

NEW ENGLAND, *ut supra* in the 1st Question.

[Question VI.] What hopes there are to bring more over, and by what ways and means?

In PENNSILVANIA, the WEST and EAST JERSEYS, and the several Colonies of NEW ENGLAND, there are great hopes, were there a considerable number of pious, learned clerks, well versed in the controversies between the Church and the Brethren of the Separation, speedily sent over and supported by England and by maintenance, and as for the ways and means, we humbly conceive, that if the Queen, the Lord Chancellor, the Arch Bishops, Bishops, Collegiate Churches, and Universities, would be pleased to present as many pious and learned Ministers, as are needful, to livings, as they fall, of £200 per annum, at least, upon condition that they come to the aforesaid places, to preach the Gospel for such time as their Graces and Lordships shall soe arrange.

That if a competent portion of the Tyth may be reserved for the supply of the Cures, and the residue sent Yearly to supply the Mis-

sionaries; with submission, we believe that this would effectually contribute to the Proselyting, the main body of the Dissenting People, to their Ancient Mother, the Church; or if this Method be not so agreeable to the persons above mentioned, it is humbly suggested that until the fund to be raised by that Noble and Illustrious Society, for the Propagating of Christian Faith, in these Parts, be able to answer the charge of their great and pious undertaking, that their Lordships would be pleased to contrive how the profits of such Sine Cures, as are in the Queen's and their Lordship's gifts may be sequestered as they fall, for the supply of the Missionaries; and it is humbly prayed that a remarkable encouragement may be given to such as will undertake the study of the Indian languages in order to their Conversion; and that above all, a Suffragan Bishop may be sent over for the confirming the Baptized, and giving orders to such as are willing and well qualified to receive them, there being a considerable number of actual preachers and others of New England education well disposed to serve in the Ministry.

NEW YORK—If proper methods be speedily taken, we have reasonable hopes that the English Counties of that Province will be easily reconciled to the Church, as to ways and means, by sending a pious and learned Clergy among them as aforesaid: again that in the small Towns the Ministers have directions and Encouragement given them to officiate as Ministers and Schoolmasters, than which a more effectual way cannot be taken to establish the Church on the Sure and lasting foundations of Truth and Peace.

And as to the Dutch Counties and Towns in the Province it would be of admirable Service to send such Dutch Ministers to their Vacant Counties and Towns, especially forthwith one to Kings County, now destitute, ordained by the Bishop of London, with whom they would as readily comply as if they were Ministers of their own persuasion.

[*Question VII.*] What opposition and Discouragement the Church of England meets with, from the Government, Society of people or private persons?

PENSILVANIA.—The chief opposition and discouragement the Church of England meets with, ariseth from persons disaffected being put into places and offices of trust in council, in Commission of the peace and Courts of Jurisdiction.

One other great discouragement which the Church labours under, is from the pretended Ministry of Quakers, who have threatened our Reverend and worthy Brother, Mr. Keith, at their Meeting places,

which he has visited in New England, Rhode Island, Long Island, and the two Jerseys, with the penalty of £20 for speaking in their Meetings, though without Interruption to their Speakers; and notwithstanding they have not qualified themselves according to the Act of Toleration. There is a great opposition also from all other Dissenters, as Presbyterians, Independants and Anabaptists, who daily increase in other Provinces, as well as Pensilvania, for want of an established Ministry of the Church in those Parts.

NEW YORK.—The Church of England under the late Administration of the Lord Bellamont and Captain Nanfan hath been grievously opposed and oppressed; but since the auspicious arrival of the Right Honorable the Lord Cornbury, has been delivered from the violence of the enemies, restored to her rights, greatly countenanced and encouraged, and lives under the just expectation of being more firmly established and enlarged. But many of the Dutch Dissenters and all the Quakers, though differing from one another amongst themselves, yet agree in opposing with great zeal and malice, whatever tends to the honour and interest of the Church.

NEW ENGLAND.—Whilst the Council as well as the Assembly is in the choice of the people, and whilst the Assembly assumes a power to oblige the Members of the Church of England that maintain their own Minister, to contribute by a tax, in proportion much beyond others of the like Estate, to Support the Dissenting Ministry, there are but slender hopes to see the Church increase and flourish in that Colony.

[*Question VIII.*] How Quakers and others support their Meetings and Schools.

1. The Quakers support their Meetings and Schools by several ways and means, as first by their Established Weekly, Monthly, Quarterly, and yearly Meetings.
2. By the great and large collections of Money gathered, especially at their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, which they put into a Common stock.
3. By their proselyting many poor People to their way, by their Charity.
4. By keeping their Trade within themselves and maintaining a strict Correspondence and Intelligence over all parts where they are.
5. By the many and sometimes great Legacies which the Quakers at their Death give to the Common Stock, they appointing persons to

visit the sick, upon that Account, so that in Philadelphia they have £1000 by Legacies in about two years last past, as appears by the Records of their Wills in Philadelphia.

6. By sending over great numbers of Missionaries yearly from England into these Parts and furnishing them well out of their National Stock, especially since Mr. Keith left them.

7. By their having George Foxe's Orders and Canons duly and orderly read in their Monthly and especially in their Quarterly Men and Women's Meetings; though they never read one chapter of the Holy Bible in the said meetings.

8. By spreading Books, printed both in England and here and dispersing them at cheap rates, which leavens their youth with prejudices against the Church and her Ministers.

9. By frequent Meetings of their Speakers to consider of ways and means to propagate their errors.

10. By their great hospitality to all friends, and others that come to their public Meetings, especially their Quarterly and Yearly Meetings.

11. By suffering none of themselves to marry but with those of their own profession.

12. By refusing to swear and fight, by which means many come over to them, to excuse themselves from being jurymen and serving in the Militia.

13. By building diverse large and fair Structures, for their Meeting houses, especially in Philadelphia, Burlington, and Rhode Island.

14. By keeping and publicly recording all Misfortunes and Accidents of Sudden Deaths that happen to their Adversaries which they call Judgments of God upon their Opposers, whether Priests, Impropriators, Magistrates, or others.

15. By keeping a true and exact Register of all their Births, Burials, and Marriages, and all Passages, Travels, and Sufferings of their travelling friends, especially by keeping a distinct and particular record of the Sufferings and Death of the friends of the Ministry with the Circumstances of the time and place of their decease.

16. By collecting into volumes the particular Treatises of the preaching Quakers of Account after their Deaths, after they have ex-

punged some of their lying Prophecy's, and other Ridiculous and Scandalous Passages.

17. By their seeking out in what places in England and elsewhere what they can object of Scandals against either Ministers or People, professing Communion with the Church, reproaching the whole Church with them.

18. By their grossly misrepresenting the Doctrine of the Church of England and of all other Protestant Churches in all points of difference between them.

19. By their high pretences to the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, the same in kind with those which the Apostles and Prophets had.

20. By their singularities in Common Speech, and refusing to give any marks of honour, or due respects to Magistrates and Superiors.

21. By setting up Meetings in all places where they can find access, though they have no resident Ministers to preach or pray in these said Meetings; hundreds of which sort are in England, and many in these American Parts.

22. By the People's great liberality to all their Itinerant Preachers, and putting their Ministers generally into a way of Trade, especially Merchandizing, and putting many poor Mechanics, Servants, and Women, that have no good way of living, pretending to the Ministry among them, into such ways of trade and business, whereby to live plentifully, by which means, many who had nothing are become rich.

23. By their great partiality in concealing the gross faults of their Ministers and People favouring them of their party, either in Arbitrations or Courts of Judicature, where they have the Government in their hands, or any share therein.

24. By their using all possible Endeavours to discourage, reproach, and scandalize all such Persons as leave their Communion for their errors and other unjust practices, and to ruin them if possible, and then to tell their hearers that the Judgment of God fell upon such who forsake the truth as they term it, by which they fright the people.

[*Question IX.*] What ways and means are proper to put a stop to them?

By using some of the like ways and means above mentioned, such as are lawful, proper and convenient; many of the above mentioned

being very unlawfull which are used by them. By sending over such Books as are most proper and useful, not only for the detecting the Quakers errors, but also for informing the People in the Doctrine, way and Worship of the Church, especially all the Works of the Author of the "Snake in the Grass," particularly his five discourses printed together by Charles Brown, "the Invention of Man in the Worship of God," by Dr. King, Bishop of Londonderry, all the small treatises lately published against profane swearing and breach of the Sabbath. The abstract of the "London Cases," Dr. Beveridge's Sermon concerning the excellency and usefulness of the Common Prayer, "The unworthy communicant," "Comber upon the Common Prayer," "The Whole duty of Man," Mr. Brent, of Bristol, against lying, Common Prayer Books and books of homilies, and the articles of the Church of England, and Catechisms, the Exposition of the Church Catechism, by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Lastly, Large and Common Prayer Books, for Churches; that the Executive part of the Government be put into the hands of persons well affected to the Church of England.

That Ministers of the Church of England in these American parts, as well as England, acquaint themselves well with the Quakers erroneous Doctrine and Principles, and that it be earnestly recommended to all such, where Quakers abound most, to preach against their sad Doctrines and principles, which are most erroneous, at least once every three months in their Parish Churches.

New York.

Signed by us,

GEORGE KEITH,

EVAN EVANS,

Cler. Minister of Philadelphia.

ALEXANDER INNES,

Presbyter.

EDMOND MOTT,

Chaplain of Her Majesty's Forces in New York.

JOHN TALBOT,

WILLIAM VESEY,

Rector of New York.

JOHN BARTOW.

## Part II

# "A Journal of Travels from New-Hampshire to Caratuck on the Continent of North-America"

By George Keith, A. M.

[With Notes by Edgar Legare Pennington]

### Bibliographical Note

An original copy of the 1706 edition of George Keith's *Journal* is in the Harvard University Library. Through the courtesy of that Library, photostats of that copy were supplied to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE through the good offices of the late Rev. James Arthur Muller, Ph. D. (1884-1945), associate editor of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, 1932-1945. From those photostats the printed transcript below was made. The subheadings in brackets, inserted for the convenience of the reader, are not in the original copy. The numerals in the margins, e. g., .2., indicate the page numbers of the original copy.

The only known reprint of Keith's *Journal* is that in the *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society for the Year 1851*—exactly one hundred years ago—published in New York, 1851, by Stanford & Swords; and this latter work is now scarce.—*Editor's note.*



A  
JOURNAL  
OF  
TRAVELS  
FROM  
NEW-HAMPSHIRE  
TO  
CARATUCK,  
On the Continent of  
NORTH-AMERICA.

BY  
GEORGE KEITH, *A. M.*

Late Missionary from the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*; and  
now Rector of *Edburton* in *Suffex*.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *Joseph Downing*, for *Brab. Aylmer* at the *Three-Pigeons*  
over-against the *Royal-Exchange* in *Cornhill*, 1706.

JOURNAL

TRAVELS

IN WESTERN

AFRICA

AND THE

INDIAN ARCHES

OF THE

SAHARA

TO THE  
Most Reverend Father in GOD  
THOMAS,  
Lord Arch-Bishop of  
CANTERBURY, &c.  
PRESIDENT,  
And to the rest of the  
MEMBERS  
OF THE  
*Society for the Propagation of the  
Gospel in Foreign Parts ;*

This JOURNAL

Is most humbly Dedicated

By their late Missionary

George Keith.

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#### ERRATA.

**P**AGE 4. line 12. for *Now* read *Nor*. p. 6. l. 30. for *Justim* r. *Custim*.  
p. 20. l. 28. for *Word* r. *World*. p. 21. l. 28. r. *frequently*. p. 43.  
l. 19 for *Wincop* r. *Winthrop*. p. 57. l. 6. for *Dawson* r. *Danson*. p. 60. l. 4.  
for *Cowward* r. *Concord*. p. 64. l. 17. for *Kirketan* r. *Kicketan*, and the  
pages 65, l. 13, p. 81. l. 8. & l. 13. l. 16, 17. p. 76 l. 16. for *Hanson* r.  
*Hamton*. p. 77. l. 7. for *Cafe* r. *Chafe* p. 78. l. 10. for *Tomfley* r. *Tounjly*.  
p. 81. l. ult. after *out* r. *of* p. 82. l. 23. for *me* r. *my*.

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A  
JOURNAL  
OF THE  
Travels and Ministry

.1.

Of the Reverend

GEORGE KEITH, A. M.

THE Twenty-eighth Day of *April* 1702, I sailed from *Cowes* in the *Isle of Wight*, in one of the *Queens Ships*, called the *Centurion*, whereof Captain *Herne* was Commander, who was very Civil to me, bound for *Boston* in *New-England*; and by the good Providence of God, we arriv'd at *Boston* the Eleventh day of *June*, our whole time of Passage being Six Weeks and one Day. Colonel *Dudley*<sup>1</sup> Governour of *New-England*, and Colonel *Povie*<sup>2</sup> Deputy Governour, and Mr. *Morris*,<sup>3</sup> with all whom we sailed in the same Ship, were so generous and kind both to Mr. *Patrick Gordon*<sup>4</sup> Missionary for *Long-Island*, and to me, that at their desire we did Eat at their Table all the Voyage on free cost.<sup>5</sup>

[IN NEW ENGLAND]

[IN BOSTON AND ENVIRONS]

[June-August, 1702]

\*At my Arrival the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Miles*,<sup>6</sup> and the Reverend Mr. *Christopher Bridge*,<sup>7</sup> both Ministers of the Church of *England* Congregation at *Boston*,<sup>8</sup> did kindly receive me and the two Ministers in company with me, and we lodg'd, and were kindly entertained in their Houses, during our abode at *Boston*.<sup>9</sup>

Being *Sunday*, at the request of the abovenamed Ministers of the Church of *England*, I preached in the *Queens*

.2.

June 14.  
1702.

Chappel<sup>10</sup> at *Boston*, on *Eph.* 2. 20, 21, 22.<sup>11</sup> where was a large Auditory, not only of Church People, but of many others.

\*Vide  
Appendix.

Soon after, at the request of the Ministers and Vestry, and others of the Auditory, my Sermon was Printed at *Boston*.<sup>12</sup> It contained in it, towards the conclusion, Six plain brief Rules,\* which I told my Auditory did well agree to the Holy Scriptures, and they being well observed, and put in Practice, would bring all to the Church of *England*, who dissented from her.

This did greatly Alarm the Independent Preachers at *Boston*. Whereupon Mr. Increase Mather,<sup>13</sup> one of the chief of them, was set on Work to Print against my Sermon, as accordingly he did, and Published a small Treatise against the said six Rules, wherein he laboured to prove them all false and contrary to Scripture, but did not say anything against the Body of my Sermon.<sup>14</sup> And not long after, I Printed a Treatise in Vindication of these Six Rules, in answer to his, wherein I shewed the invalidity of his objections against them. This I had printed at *New-York*, the Printer at *Boston* not daring to Print it, lest he should give offence to the Independent Preachers there.<sup>15</sup> After it was Printed, the printed Copies of it were sent to *Boston*, and dispersed both over *New-England* and the other Parts of *North America*.

.3.  
June 21.  
Sunday.  
June 28.  
Sunday.

\*I preached a second Sermon at the Queens Chappel on *Rom.* 10. 6, 7, 8, 9.<sup>16</sup>

The Reverend Mr. John Talbot,<sup>17</sup> who had been Chaplain in the *Centurion*, Preached there.

By the Advice of my good Friends at *Boston*, and especially of Colonel Joseph Dudley, Governour of *Boston* Colony, I chose the above-named Mr. John Talbot to be my Assistant and Associate in my Missionary Travels and Services, he having freely and kindly offered himself, and whom I freely and kindly received, and with the first occasion I wrote to the Society, praying them, to allow of him to be my Fellow-Companion and Associate in Travels, &c. which they accordingly did, and indeed Divine Providence did well order it, for he proved a very loving and faithful Associate to me, and was very helpful to me in all respect, and was well approved and esteemed every where, both with respect to his Preaching and Living, in the several places where we Travelled.

July 1.  
Wednesday.

I went from *Boston* to *Cambridge* in *New-England*, accompanied with my associate, Mr. Talbot, and Mr. Bridge above-named, and I was present at the Commencement, which was that very day; and having heard Mr. Samuel Willard,<sup>18</sup> President of the College, at the said Commencement maintain some Assertions that seemed to me very unsound, the next day I writ a Letter to him in *Latin*, shewing my great dislike of those his assertions, and after some days I sent it to him; after this, at the request of some there, I put it into *English*, and had it Printed at *New-York*, and dispersed into many other places of *America*, as well as of *New-England*.<sup>19</sup>



The Assertions abovenamed of the said Mr. *Samuel Willard*, that seemed to me very unsound, were these: I. That the Fall of *Adam*, by virtue of God's Decree, was \*necessary. II, That every free act of the Reasonable Creature is determined by God, so that whatever the Reasonable Creature acteth freely, it acteth the same necessarily.

.4.

Not long after my Letter to him was Published and dispersed, he Printed a Reply to it,<sup>20</sup> in a small Treatise containing about four Sheets, where notwithstanding his many shufflings, and seeming to disown the charge, he very roundly and plainly not only asserts all that I had charged on him, but much more, as appears from his express Words, Page 50. of the said Reply, *Where he saith, Now [error for Nor] shall I part with my opinion? viz. that the Origine and Cause of the necessity of the first Sin is more to be derived from God, than from Man himself. Nay further, (saith he) that the whole cause of the futurity of it is owing to the divine Decree, though still the whole sin and blame of it is due to Adam, for that in the accomplishing of his Apostacy he abused his own free Will, and Voluntarily transgressed the Command.*

After some time that his Reply to my Letter was Printed, I published in Print an answer to his Reply, my answer contains about six Sheets.<sup>21</sup> My Endeavours in these matters, by the Blessing of God, had a good effect in quieting the Minds of many People in these parts, and bringing them over to the Church, in *East-Jersey*, especially at *Elizabeth Town* there. Such who desire to read both my Answer to Mr. *Samuel Willard*, and my Letter, and also my Answer to Mr. *Increase Mather* in vindication of the six Rules abovementioned, together with all the other Treatises I published in Print during my abode in *America*, from *June 11th 1702*, to *June the 8th 1704*, and some Printed Sermons within the said time, may find them at the most Reverend *Thomas Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury*<sup>22</sup> his Library at *St. Martins*, all bound up together in one Volume, which \*I presented to the Society some small time after my arrival at *London*.

.5.

I preached again at the Queens Chappel in Boston upon *Rev. 3. 20.*<sup>23</sup>

*July 5.**Sunday.*

I went from *Boston* to *Linn*, accompanied with Mr. *Talbot*, and the next day, being the Quakers Meeting day, we visited their Meeting there, having first called at a Quaker's House, who was of my former acquaintance. Mr. *Shepherd*<sup>24</sup> the Minister of *Linn* did also accompany us, but the Quakers, though many of them had been formerly Members of his Church, were very abusive to him, as they were unto us. After some time of silence, I stood up and began to speak, but they did so interrupt with their Noise and Clamour against me, that I could not proceed, though I much entreated them to hear me: So I sat down and heard their Speakers one after another utter abundance of falshoods and impertinencies and gross pervers-

*July 8.**July 9.**Thursday.*

sions of many Texts of the Holy Scripture. After their Speakers had done, they hasted to be gone: I desired them to stay, and I would shew them that they had spoke many falshoods, and perverted many places of Scripture, but they would not stay to hear. But many of the People staid, some of them Quakers, and others who were not Quakers but disaffected to the Quakers Principles. I asked one of their Preachers before he went away, seeing they Preached so much *the sufficiency of the Light within to Salvation*, (without any thing else) did the *Light* within teach him without Scripture, that our Blessed Saviour was born of a Virgin, and died for our Sins, &c. He replied, If he said it did, I would not believe him, and therefore he would not answer me.

- .6. After their Speakers were gone, I went up into the Speakers Gallery, where they use to stand and Speak, and I did read unto the People that staid to hear me, \*Quakers and others, many Quotations out of *Edw. Burrough's*<sup>25</sup> Folio Book, detecting his vile Errors, who yet was one of their chief Authors, particularly in Page 150, 151. where he renders it *the Doctrine of Salvation that's only necessary to be Preached*, viz. *Christ within*, and that he is a Deceiver that exhorts People for Salvation to any other thing, than the light within; as appears by his several Queries in the Pages cited. And where he saith, Page 273. *that the Sufferings of the People of God in this Age [meaning the Quakers] are greater Sufferings, and more Unjust, than those of Christ and the Apostles; what was done to Christ, or to the Apostles, was chiefly done by a Law, and in great part by the due execution of a Law.* But all this a noted Quaker,<sup>26-a</sup> whose name I spare to mention, (as I generally intend to spare the mentioning of their Names) did boldly defend. But another Quaker who stood by, confessed the last Passage in rendering the Quakers Sufferings greater and more unjust than the Sufferings of Christ, was not well worded, but to excuse it, said, *we must not make a Man an offender for a word.*

July 10.

We came to *Hampton*,<sup>26</sup> and were very kindly entertained there. *Hampton* is distant N. Eastward from *Boston* 50 Miles.

July 12.

Mr. *Talbot* Preached at *Hampton* in the forenoon, and I Preach'd there in the Afternoon on *Acts* 26. 18.<sup>27</sup>

Sunday.

July 15.

Wednesday.

July 16.

Thursday.

I preached the Lecture there on the same Text.

.7.

We went to the Quakers Meeting at *Hampton*, accompanied with Mr. *John Cotton*<sup>28</sup> the Minister of the Parish, and Mr. *Juslim*<sup>29</sup> [error for *Cuslim*], the Minister of *Salisbury* Parish, and very many Civil People of both these Parishes came, who were not Quakers, hoping to have heard some fair Dispute betwixt the Quakers and me. At the Quakers Meeting there we heard two Quaker Preachers. The first who spoke was a Ship Carpenter from \**Situate*, who spoke about half an hour or more, but very Ignorantly, and most grossly perverting several Texts of Scripture, particularly *Joh.* 17. 3.<sup>30</sup> and *Rom.* 1. 19.<sup>31</sup> which he brought to prove, that the ignorant People (to whom

he directed his Discourse) as he accounted them, had a little Babe within them, lying in a Manger under the Earth, to which if they would hearken, that little Babe within them (*meaning by that little Babe, the Light within them*) would give them the knowledge of God, which was Life Eternal. He told them he could not read the Scripture, and hoped they would excuse him, if he did not so exactly quote the words. After him the other Quaker Preacher, who came from *Shrewsbury* in *East-Jersey*, began and continued Preaching very long, above two Hours, and did mightily heat himself; he also most ignorantly spoke many things, and grossly perverted and misapplied many Texts of Scripture, to prove the sufficiency of the Light within to Salvation (*viz.* without Scripture or anything else.) And as the Quakers ordinary way is in their Preaching every where, they have a set of Texts of Scripture which they commonly bring to prove the sufficiency of the Light within to Salvation without any thing else, but which they miserably pervert and misapply, such as *Joh. 1. 9.<sup>82</sup> Joh. 3. 19, 20.<sup>83</sup> Joh. 12. 36.<sup>84</sup> Joh. 16. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.<sup>85</sup> Rom. 10. 6, 7, 8.<sup>86</sup> 2 Cor. 12. 9.<sup>87</sup> Titus 2. 11, 12.<sup>88</sup>* Many of which Texts and others he did grossly pervert and misapply to prove his false Doctrine. And the like perversions of Scripture he used against Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, in the common road of other Quakers, as extant in their Printed Books. After he had done, having exceedingly tired and wearied all his Hearers who were not Quakers, I offered to speak, but immediately their Preachers went away in all hast after I began to speak, though I earnestly en\*treated them to stay; many also of the Quaker hearers went away with them, but some stayed, and all the people who were not Quakers, together with the two *New-England* Ministers abovementioned, did stay, and heard me about the space of an hour resume and refute the heads of the Quaker Preachers Discourse, and rescue the Texts of Scripture which they had quoted from their gross perversions and misapplications, both as concerning the *Light within*, and the *Holy Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper*. But the day being very hot, and the House not large enough to contain the Auditory, we kept the Meeting in an Orchard joining to the House, where we had some shade of Trees. Among the Quakers who stayed to hear me, one or two endeavoured to interrupt me in my Discourse; but a noted Quaker and Preacher of good repute belonging to their Meeting, did forbid them to make any interruption, telling them, I did not interrupt their Preachers and therefore they should not interrupt me. I did also read to them many gross Antichristian expressions I had collected out of the Folio Book of *Edward Burroughs* (whom the Quakers have magnified with no less title than that of a Prophet, in their Title page of his Folio Book, published by them after his decease) and I told them if they were willing I would shew them the Passages in the Book it self. To this the abovementioned Quaker

.8.

- Preacher replied to me, I needed not to shew them to him, for he believed the Quotations were truly made, and that there were great Errors in their Friend's Books. The same Quaker preacher did kindly invite us to his House, with whom I had much Discourse. He told me he approved very well of what he had heard me discourse, and that he did perceive my Doctrine about the necessity of Faith in *Jesus Christ*, in order to Salvation, was the same he \*had formerly heard me declare in their Meetings when I was among them about Twelve Years past. Some of his Neighbours told me, his manner of Preaching in the Quakers Meetings, was not to speak much, but what he spoke was generally no other than the express words of Scripture, without his putting any Commentary or gloss on them; he has the Character of a sober, honest, and very charitable Man among all his Neighbours, his Name is *Thomas Chase*.<sup>39</sup> At this same Meeting of the Quakers at *Hampton*, one of the Quakers belonging to that Meeting did boldly affirm to me, before many witnesses, that the Blood of Christ that was outwardly shed upon the Cross could do him no good, and he did extremely blame me, for owing to Mr. *John Cotton* the Minister of *Hampton* Parish, about Twelve Years past, that we were justified and sanctified by that Blood of Christ's Body that was outwardly shed on the Cross, and did earnestly contend that the Blood of Christ, whereby the faithful are said in Scripture to be justified and sanctified, was not any outward Blood of Christ, but the inward Blood of the Light within them, as they had learned from *George Fox*,<sup>40</sup> and *George Whitehead*,<sup>41</sup> and other Quaker Authors, in their Printed Books, whereof I have given a large and full Account, in several of my Printed Narratives at *London*, particularly the first, third and fourth. I endeavoured to help the said Quaker's Understanding, by informing him, that by our being justified and sanctified by the Blood of Christ, that was outwardly shed, was not meant that it was by any material or outward application of that Blood to us, but by the Merit of our Blessed Saviour's Passion and Death, in his being a most satisfactory and acceptable Sacrifice to God for our Sins, the which Sacrifice required that his Blood should be shed; for without the shedding of Blood, there could be no remission of Sins: \*and all Men who had remission of Sins by that Blood, it was by a true and lively Faith in that Blood; but all that I said or could say to him did not prevail, but he continued strong in his most unchristian assertion, still justifying it, and blaming me for my Christian Doctrine. This with all the other Passages I brought both from their Preachers words, then spoke by them, and quoted out of their Books, which the Quakers present did not contradict, did greatly satisfie the people there, who were not Quakers, that the Quakers chief Authors and Preachers were guilty of most unchristian Principles, repugnant to the Fundamentals of the Christian Faith; and that the inferior sort had
- .9.
- .10.

received their gross Errors from their Leaders Words and Writings.

Mr. Talbot Preached at Salisbury in the Forenoon, and I preached there in the Afternoon, on *Philip. 2. 13.*<sup>42</sup> where we had a great Auditory, and well affected, as also we had the like at Hampton. The occasion of our having so great an Auditory both at Hampton and at Salisbury was this, as some of them told us, that they had been inform'd concerning us, that *We being Ministers of the Church of England, we would Preach down-right Popery to our Hearers:* But (said they) we came the rather to hear you, to know whether we could hear any Popery Preached by you; but indeed, (said they which were the most Judicious, and most Ancient among them,) *Praised be God we heard no Popish Doctrine Preached by any of you, but good sound Protestant Doctrine, the same which we have heard our Ministers of New-England Preach to us, and which to our great comfort we have believed these Forty Years past, and we still continue to believe.* We replied, we were very glad to find that they were of the same Faith with the Church of England, in these great Fundamentals of the Christian Religion.

\*We came to the Quakers Meeting at Dover (by Piscataway River) distant from Boston North-Eastwards about Seventy Miles, where after some time of silence, we heard their Preacher, who was a Taylor, and lived in the Town of Dover:<sup>43</sup> He did not speak long, but exhorted them to keep to the Foundation, and he quoted St. Paul's Words, Another Foundation can no Man lay, but that which is laid already, which is *Jesus Christ.*<sup>44</sup> I heard him patiently till he had done; and after he had done, I perceiving by the sequel of his discourse, that he meant nothing else by *Jesus Christ* being the Foundation, but the light within them, and as it is in all Men, according to their common Doctrine. I asked him what he meant by *Jesus Christ* being the Foundation, whether the Light within them only, or the man *Christ Jesus*, who was, and is, both God and Man without them, and who is also in them as he is God, and is in all Men by his general Presence and Illumination, and is in all the Faithful by his special Grace and Illumination? But to this he would give no positive answer. But seemed greatly surprized, and as a Man astonished at my plain Question; for I found he had no other notion of *Jesus Christ* being the Foundation, but the Light within, which he called God, and said, God was *Adam's* Teacher the first, and will be the last; all which he applied to the Light within, as it is in all Men, *Jews, Turks, and Infidels*, the same as in the Quakers by their plain confession. I asked him again, did the light within him, without the Scripture, teach him that *Jesus Christ* was Born of the Virgin *Mary*? He replied by asking me, who taught *Joseph* that *Christ* was to be Born of her? I answered him, an Angel: But had an Angel taught

July 19.  
Sunday.

.11.  
July 23.  
1702.

- .12. him the same? He said the Holy Ghost had taught him. I again asked him, had the Holy Ghost Taught him that without the Scripture? To this he quite demurred, and \*was at a stand, until a Quaker that was next to him, whispered to him in the Ear, and bid him ask me, who taught *Nebuchadnezzar* that the fourth that was with the three Children in the fiery Furnace was like the Son of God? I answered him, that case was Miraculous and extraordinary, which he could not pretend unto; nor do the Leaders among the Quakers pretend, that the *Light within them*, without Scripture, teacheth them any thing of Christ as he was outwardly Born of a Virgin, or of his Death, Burial, and Resurrection, &c. for it is not needful (they say) to be taught them by the Light within them, and yet the Light within them doth sufficiently teach them all that is necessary to Salvation without anything else; which plainly proves from their avowed Principle, that they do not think the Faith of Christ's Birth, Death, Burial, Resurrection, &c. necessary to their Salvation; but even this again is contradicted by some of them, who affirm it is necessary to them who have the Scriptures, to have that Faith, and to such not to have it, is a Damnable Sin. After this short Conference with him he went away, and some of the Quakers with him, but many stayed behind, both Men and Women, with whom we had much discourse, wherein they generally betrayed their horrid ignorance, and prejudice, against the very Fundamentals of Christianity. One of them did mightily contend against me, for the sufficiency of the Light within every Man to Salvation, without any thing else, and charged my denial of his Assertion to be Blasphemy; for (said he) the Light within is God, and God could do every thing, and can, and is sufficient to save us without any thing else. I replied to him, there were several things God could not do. This again he charged to be Blasphemy, and bid me give him one Instance of any one thing he could not do. I told him, I could give him
- .13. \*diverse Instances; as that he could not Lie, nor be the Author of any Sin, to which he assented. I told him again, as God could not Lie, so nor could he contradict his declared will and purpose plainly delivered to us in the holy Scripture, which was to save us by Jesus Christ, who died for us, I *Thess.* 5. 9,<sup>45</sup> and therefore this being God's revealed Will to save us by Jesus Christ who died for us, to save us without Jesus Christ who died for us, would contradict God's revealed Will given us in the holy Scripture; this Answer did quite put him to silence. After I had thus said, one Mrs. *Knight*, a Quaker belonging to their Meeting, being present, (whose name I mention to her Praise, and to make it known, that some among the Quakers are not such Infidels, as they more generally are, though all of them, even the best, are involved in great Errors) signified her good liking to my Answer, and said, she thought that I would give that answer; she also did vindicate my Reputation against another Quaker-Woman there present, who said, they (*viz.* the Quakers)



had no good opinion of me, when I was formerly among them in that Town, about Twelve Years past or more. I am sure, said Mrs. *Knight*, that is not true; for Friends then had a very good Esteem of him, and particularly so I had, and was glad that by my Husband's Invitation, he came and Lodg'd one Night at our House. And while we were discoursing about a sinless Perfection, whether it was attainable in this Life; another Quaker-Woman affirmed, that she was perfect to that degree, that she had not any sin. What (said I) have ye no sin, neither actual nor original? Was ye not Born with original sin? Nay, (said she) I was born of Holy Parents, and I knew never any thing but Purity and Holiness. But, said I, *David* came of holy Parents, and yet he said, *Psal. 51. 5. Behold I was shapen in Iniquity, and in Sin did my Mother conceive \*me.* Were your Parents more holy than *David's* Parents? To this she answered, what *David's* Parents were she knew not, whether holy or not, but she knew her Parents that they were holy. And this is the very Doctrine of *George Fox* and *Edward Burroughs*, in their Printed Books, that the Children of holy Parents are Born without all defilement of Sin. After this Mr. *Talbot* produced *George Fox's Will* in Print (which as it has received several Impressions at *London*, so it hath had one at least at *New-York* in *America*) and began to read in it, how *George Fox* left his Boots and Spurs, and Clyster-pipe, to *Thomas Lower*, by which Mr. *Talbot* did infer, that it seemed *George Fox* did leave them as holy Relicks. No, said she, *vis.* the abovementioned Woman who said she had no Sin, they have been Silver Spurs, for she had seen silver Spurs, and the Clyster-Pipe was a Golden Pipe: To this I replied, this made *George Fox* very vain and Proud, that his Spurs were silver Spurs; this was a great reflexion on *George Fox*, to say he wore silver Spurs; and that his Clyster-Pipe was a Golden Pipe, this was to render him very Prodigal indeed, who was but a poor Shoemaker Journyman (whose Master I knew) before he became the Ring-leader of the Quakers, that no less would serve him than silver-Spurs; and as for a Golden Clyster-Pipe, I never heard of any such thing before. We had also much reasoning with diverse of the Quakers in that Meeting, concerning the Sacraments, and particularly that of Baptism. The chief Person that did undertake to dispute with me against Baptism with Water, was a Quaker Justice of that Town, whose name I spare, as I think fit generally to spare their Names (except where I can say something to their commendation, and that is but very seldom) whereas I produced *Matth. 28. 19.<sup>46</sup>* to prove that our Blessed Saviour had commanded the practice of Baptism \*to his Apostles, and to their Successors to administer it to all Proselytes to Christianity to the end of the World: To this he replied, that Water was not mentioned, and that the Baptism that Christ there commanded, was not outward Baptism with Water, but inward Baptism with the Spirit. I asked him what Teaching was that, which Christ

.14.

.15.



commanded there, *Matth.* 28. 19. 20.<sup>47</sup> He said, it was inward Teaching; but in this another Quaker presently contradicted him, and said, it could not be inward Teaching that Christ commanded the Apostles; for none but God, and Christ, and the Holy Ghost, could Teach inwardly; but the Apostles being but Men, they could but Teach outwardly; I commended his answer, and from thence I inferred against them both, that as the Apostles could not Teach inwardly, so nor could they Baptize inwardly, the latter being as impossible to Men to do as the former; and therefore the Baptism that Christ commanded the Apostles to administer was outward Baptism with Water, and which accordingly they performed either by themselves, or by appointing others to do it by the Authority they had from Christ. This is but a hint of many things that passed in discourse betwixt us, having continued with them for many hours. After we came out of the Meeting, the Quaker-Woman who boasted so much of her sinless Perfection, did invite us to her House, and did kindly entertain us both with Victuals and Drink, and offered us a good Bed to lodge in, it being late. We thanked her for her Hospitality and proffer to lodge us, but we went into our Boat that waited for us, and went down the River that Night to the Town called *Strawberrybank*, and lodged there at an Inn, or Publick House of Entertainment.

- .16. Here it is worthy of notice, what some of the Neighbours of the Quakers of that Town did inform us concerning the Quakers there, *viz.* how that some time af<sup>t</sup>er Quakerism had got entrance into that Town, and they had set up a Quaker Meeting there, the Quakers invited their Neighbours to come to their Meetings, where they should hear excellent Preachers, who should Preach to them freely without any Cost or Charge, not like their hireling Minister, who put them to great charge to maintain him: Upon this Publication, many or most of the Parish deserted the Minister, and frequented the Quakers Meetings. But not long after, the Contributions that the Quakers gathered in their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for the Travelling Friends of the Ministry, were so frequent, and rose so high, that they far exceeded what they were to pay their Minister as the Law of the Country required; whereupon they generally concluded to desert the Quakers Meetings, and return to their Minister; for, said they, if this be the way of it, that the upholding the Quakers Ministers that come among us be so chargeable, far above what we pay to the Minister of the Parish, we will go back again to our own Minister Mr. *John Pike*,<sup>48</sup> and accordingly so they did, and continue hearing their own Minister, who is of good Fame among the Neighbourhood, and whom we intended to have visited at his House, but it happened that he was gone abroad; however, such as were more thoroughly leavened with Quakerism, kept up their Meetings, and have Built a Meeting-House to themselves, where we did visit them, and discourse with them as abovementioned.

We Arrived at *Salem*,<sup>40</sup> and had intended to have visited the Quakers at their Meeting there, the next Day, but we were informed that they had removed their Meeting for that Day from *Salem* to another Place, of which we could have no notice, though we made enquiry.

July 25.  
1702.

\*In our way from *Salem* to *Boston*, as we stayed some Hours at the Ferry by *Newberry*,<sup>50</sup> I had much discourse with a sober Carpenter who was a Quaker, his Name was *William Clement*. He did readily confess to the Fundamentals of the Christian Faith, concerning our Blessed Saviour; but had some dispute with me about Baptism, and by the Discourse I had there with him, seemed to be much convinced that it was his Duty to have his Children Baptized, as he had been himself, in Infancy, and had a Resolution to have it done.

.17.

July  
28

We returned to *Boston*.

August 1.  
August 2.  
Sunday.

I preached again at the Queen's Chappel there on *Philip*.  
2. 13.<sup>51</sup>

#### [IN RHODE ISLAND]

[August-September, 1702]

I set out from *Boston* accompanied with the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Myles*, one of the Ministers of the Church of *England* Congregation there, and we arrived at *Newport* in *Rhod-Island*<sup>52</sup> the next day, where we were kindly received. Mr. *Lockyer*<sup>53</sup> the Church of *England* Minister there and diverse others of the Church came from *Newport* and met us at the Ferry, and conducted us to the Town, and place of our Lodging. Mr. *Talbot* stayed at *Boston* to officiate in the Church there for Mr. *Myles*, until his return.

August 3.  
1702.

I went to the Quakers Meeting at *New-port* on *Rhod-Island*<sup>54</sup> accompanied with Mr. *Myles*, Mr. *Lockyer*, and many People belonging to the Church there, some of them being Justices of the Peace, to wit, Mr. *Carr*, and Mr. *Layton*.

August 6.

After one of their Preachers had spoke a long time, and came to an end, having perverted many Texts of Scripture, to prove the sufficiency of the Light within, the inward Teacher, without any thing else, their common Subject; and though they do not so very frequently say, *without any thing else*, yet they always so mean it, and oft so express it, as they have very much of late both \*in their Discourses and Books. The two particular Texts of Scripture which he greatly perverted, to prove the Quakers false Notion of the sufficiency of the Light within all Men to Salvation, without any thing else, were *Joh. 16. 8.*<sup>55</sup> and *Titus 2. 11.*<sup>56</sup> I began to speak, standing up in a Gallery opposite to the Gallery where their Teachers were placed, who were many; having intended in a friendly manner to inform them, how their Speaker had misunderstood and misinterpreted those, and other Texts of Scripture, and I much requested them

.18.

to hear me a while without interruption, as I had heard their Preacher. But I was instantly interrupted by them very rudely, and they were very abusive to me with their ill-Language, calling me Apostate, &c, and they threatned me with being guilty of the breach of the Act of Toleration, by which they said their Meetings were Authorized. I told them I had not broken the Act of Toleration; for neither that Act, nor any Law of *England*, did forbid a Minister of the Church of *England* to speak in their Meetings, if he did not interrupt them, as I did not, nor did I intend so to do. And they who made the interruption were guilty of the breach of that Act, and not I; though upon good inquiry it will be found, the Quakers have not the benefit of that Act, for want of the Qualifications of their Preachers required by the Act.

Mr. Myles said I ought to be heard, I being a Missionary into these *American* parts, by the *Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, sent on purpose to endeavour to reduce the Quakers from their Errors, the which Society hath a Patent from the Crown of *England*, and not to hear me, nor suffer me to speak, was a Contempt of Supream Authority. Some of the Quakers having said that Mr. Myles affirmed I was sent by the Queen: I told them I had no immediate Mission from the Queen, and I knew not that ever the Queen (whom \*God Bless and Preserve) had heard of me. But remotely and mediately my Mission was from the Queen, it being from the *Honourable Society*, who had a patent from the Crown.

.19.

After this I applyed myself to their Governour, Col. *Cranston*,<sup>57</sup> who was there present, and frequents their Meetings, but is no professed Quaker, and I said to him, May it please your Honour to command these Men not to interrupt me, but that I may have a Peaceable hearing among such here present who are desirous to hear me, as indeed many such were, not only of the Church People, but of Independents and Anabaptists, as well as diverse of the Quakers, especially the younger sort of them. These modest words of mine to the Governour (who is chosen by the People, but is not their Governour by the Queen's immediate appointment) some Quakers have so wrested and falsified in Print, that they have affirmed I spoke to the Governour in a commanding way, to compel the Quakers to hear me, which were neither my Words nor Sense; for I only desired him, that by his Authority I might not be interrupted: And if I be interrupted, it behoved me to complain to the *Honourable Society*, that I could not have liberty to speak in their Meeting, and so, what in them lay, to frustrate the end of my Mission. For where could I have opportunity to inform them, but in their Meetings? Should I go to their Houses, they would not let me come into them. The Governour, at this, went away, and Civilly said to me, he thought I had done better, to have stayed till they had done. I told him, then they would be gone, as they had served me at *Lynn*, at *Hampton*, and at *Dover*.

After the Governour was gone, one of their Speakers, who was the Deputy Governour, and had been formerly their chief Governour,<sup>58</sup> took out of \*his Pocket a Printed abusive Paper full of Lies, having no Name to it, and began to read it in the Meeting, on purpose to drown my Voice, that I might not be heard. The Title of it was, *One Wonder more; or George Keith the eighth Wonder of the World*, Printed at London several Years before.<sup>59</sup> Mr. Myles said it was an infamous Libel, without a Name to it, and it was a shame for such a Man as he, being Lieutenant Governour in the Place, to read such an Infamous Libel against any Man, on purpose vilely to defame him.

.20.

After he had done, another Quaker Preacher, who had been formerly their Governour, began to Preach; he told the Auditory he had read the Scriptures in three Languages, but neither in *Latin*, *Greek*, nor *Hebrew*, but first Literally, secondly Carnally, thirdly Spiritually. He said the Grace [the Light within all Men] was all-sufficient, which he brought as a Proof for its being sufficient to Salvation, without Scripture, or Christ's Blood shed, without us, or any thing else. He also said, it was to as little purpose to Preach to natural Men, or for natural Men to read the Scriptures, as to Four-Footed Beasts; whereby he not only condemned the Practice of the Apostles, who Preached to natural Men, as Christ commanded them; but also he condemned the Practice of the Quaker Preachers, who both Preach, and write Books to natural Men, whom they call the Word [error for "World"] in order to Convert them to Quakerism; all this, and many other gross falsehoods and nonsensical Words he there uttered. And yet all this the Quakers swallow down, as the Infallible dictates of the Light within them, as they pretend; for as *George Whitehead* hath affirmed in his little Book, called, *The Voice of Wisdom, such Ministers who want Infallibility, and Speak not from the Infallible Spirit, are \*no Ministers of Christ*. And *George Fox*, in his great Mystery, calls them, *Thieves, Witches, Conjurers, who speak or write, and not from the Infallible Spirit*; surely by this Quaker-test, their greatest Authors and Leaders are no other, whose Discourses and Books are full of notorious falsehoods, and contradictions to the holy Scriptures.

.21.

At last the first Speaker made a long rambling Prayer, full of Tautologies, and vain Repetitions, and presumptuous Boastings, as their manner is, after they have vented forth abundance of falsehoods in their Preachings, running down the Scriptures and Sacraments, and the Resurrection of the Body after Death, and other great Doctrines of the Christian Religion, they commonly conclude with their Prayers, Blessing God for his glorious presence among them, and his mighty power that has been with them, to assist, refresh, and comfort them, to which the Quaker hearers do frequently echo to them with several sorts of Hummings and Sounds, whereby to Seal to the Truth not only of the Words, but of the mighty Power

- and Life that has attended their Speakers. But while they utter such falsehoods and contradictions to holy Scriptures, as also such uncharitable Speeches against all other Communions and ways of Worship, and Ministry, but their own; it is impossible that they can be acted by any divine Life or Power to do this: And yet some Power more than ordinary doth frequently [error for "frequently"] Act them, in their Speakings, and commonly works most strongly among them, when they are vehemently running down the necessity of the Scriptures, or the Sacraments, and Preaching up the sufficiency of the Light within them to Salvation, without any thing else, as I have oft observed. The strong impression their Speakings in their Meetings frequently have (or \*used to have more formerly than of late) upon their Hearers; manifestly to be observed by the visible effects of it upon many of them, causing them, some to shed Tears in plenty, some to shake and Quake, some to utter deep Groans, others to Sing; sufficiently prove that some Power, more than ordinary, doth at times Act them, and this Power doth at times Act and Operate among them, and in them, in a total silence of Words, (as well as when they utter words) in their Assemblies, of which they glory not a little. The most tolerable Construction that can be made of this Power, what it is, or whence it proceeds, seeing it can be no Divine Power, is, that it is some strong natural Enthusiasm, raised by height of fancy, and exalted imagination, such as Mr. *Causabon*<sup>60</sup> has described in his Treatise of *Enthusiasm*. But then it must needs be granted, that when they are Acted so furiously and outrageously, to contradict the plainest Doctrines of Christianity, and defame and reproach Christ's sacred Institutions, that Satan acts together with this Power of *Strong Fancy and Imagination*, and makes use of it, as its Organ and Instrument, or Conduit of Conveyance. For it's hardly to be conceived, how a meer natural or Animal Power, without the influence of some Diabolical Spirit, can act Men with such zeal and industry to Preach and Propagate most destructive Errors to Mens Perdition. Seeing, according to Holy Scripture, the Devil is the Father of Lies; and all Damnable Doctrines, are the Doctrines of Devils; of which they have a great many, as their Words and Books plainly shew. Immediately after their Prayers, all their Preachers went away, and many of the Quaker Hearers, but many of them also stayed, especially the Younger sort, both Men and Women; and generally all the People who were not Quakers, \*both those of the Church, and those called Independents and Anabaptists stayed. I told their Preachers, as they were making haste to be gone, it was a shame to them to go away, and leave so many of their Sheep exposed to the *Wolf*, as they have affirmed me to be, but I thank God I am none; but by their own Argument, by their so flying and running away, do not they prove themselves not to be true Shepherds, but Hirelings?

I had now full liberty without any interruption to speak, perceiving the Auditory generally desirous to hear me. I recollected and resumed most of the heads of their discourse, such as I could remember, and the Texts of Scripture, which they had grossly perverted and misapplied, and refuted their Perversions and Falshoods; and thus I continued some considerable time speaking in their Meeting-House, having a considerable large Auditory, all very attentive. Before I had made an end, diverse of the Quaker Preachers returned, and stood quietly and heard me, but said nothing, neither made they any offer to dispute any matter with me. I was informed by some credible Persons, that the occasion of their Preachers returning to the Meeting, while I was speaking, was, that some Quaker Zelot-Woman went to their Preachers, and told them, it would greatly reflect on them, to absent themselves while I was speaking in their Meeting-House, and might expose the Weak Friends to be deceived by me. However after their return, they said nothing, but suffered me to proceed in speaking as long as I thought fit; and thus our Meeting ended Peaceably.

The Quakers had Built a new Meeting-House at *Newport*, large enough to hold Five Hundred Persons, or more, with fair and large Galleries, and Forms or \*Benches below. But one thing very singular I observed, that on the Top of the Turret of their Meeting-House, they have a perfect *Iron Cross*, two large Iron Bars crossing one the other at right Angles, a more perfect Cross I never saw any where on any Church. I mention this the rather, because *George Fox*, in some of his Printed Pamphlets, makes a great outcry and noise against the *Steeple Houses in England*, as he calls them, for having Crosses on the Tops of them, and that it is Popery; what can the Quakers say to this? Are their Brethren of *Rhod-Island* guilty of Popery, for having the Cross on the top of their Meeting-House, which I suppose remains there to this day.

I Preached at *Newport* on *Rhod-Island*, my Text was *Joh. 1. 9.*<sup>81</sup> and I had a very numerous Auditory, not only of the People of the Town, but of many that came from other parts of the *Island* with a desire to hear me. I told my Auditory after I had concluded my Sermon, that I was to have a publick Meeting the 14th Instant at the Colony House in *Newport*, to detect the Quakers Errors out of the Printed Books of their chief Authors, and that I had obtained leave of the chief Governour *Colonel Cranston* to keep the Meeting in that House; and that I was to give notice to the Quaker Preachers to meet me there about the first Hour after Noon, if they thought fit to defend their Principles and Authors.

I sent a written Paper to the Quaker Preachers there, to meet me at the Place and Time abovementioned, to which they sent me their Answer soon after, that they would meet me, so that things should be carried fairly, and each Party should have liberty to speak an Hour without interruption, and two Modera-

.24.

August 9.  
1702.  
Sunday.

August 10.



- .25.      tors should be chosen, each on a side, to keep good \*order; to which I consented, thought I told them, an hour at once was too long, yet I would yeild to their Proposition, rather than that the Meeting should fail.

August 14.

We Met about the first Hour after Noon, the time appointed: They allowed me to begin my Charge against them, and the Hour Glass was turned to measure the time. I brought with me *George Fox's* Book, called the *Great Mystery*, and diverse other Quaker Books, viz. *Richard Claridge*<sup>62</sup> his Book, called, *Lux Evangelica Attestata*, and Mr. *Pen's*<sup>63</sup> Book, called, *Primitive Christianity*. I spent my first Hour mostly in reading to them, and to the Auditory, which were some Hundreds of People, both of the Town and Country, many Quotations out of *George Fox's* great Mystery, full of most dreadful Errors and Heresies, and detecting the gross absurdity of them, contradicting the Holy Scriptures; and in the conclusion, before my hour was quite spent, I told them, I was to expect from them, a particular answer to each Quotation I had read to them, and I proffered to them, that if they questioned my true Reading, they might Read them, laying the Book open before them. And for better Method's sake, I offered to Read again the quotations to them singly one by one, and let them give their Answer to each single quotation, whether they owned them, to be according to their Principles, yes, or no, seeing *George Fox* was the first and most Authentick Author among them, whom the Quakers at *London* have in Print called, the *Apostle of this Age*. But instead of any such performance by them, to the great disappointment of all the Auditory who were not Quakers, nor Quakerly affected, such as the far greatest part of the Auditory was not, they gave not the least Answer directly, or indirectly, to any one of the quotations I had read to them, nor gave they any reason of excuse why they declined to give any Answer to them. But as they had projected it before hand, one of chief Note among their Speakers, viz. the Deputy Governour abovementioned, did read to the Auditory, the Printed sheet, called, the *Christianity of the People called Quakers*, &c.<sup>64</sup> and after that was fully read, he read one or two other scurrilous Libels, having no Name to them, that some Quakers had Printed against me, about the Year 1700, when I joined to the Church of *England*, one of which was that abovementioned, called, *One Wonder more: or George Keith the Eighth Wonder of the World*. Having thus spent their Hour, all their Speakers rose up to be gone, pretending the Agreement was but for two Hours in all, which I denied; and the Moderator chosen by them, to whom I appealed, gave it against them, that the time was not limited to two Hours in all, but to one Hour to one side at a time.

So I began my second Hour, and I first shewed how unfair and unreasonable they were, to give no Answer to my Charges I had given out of *George Fox*, and other approved Authors, with whom they pretend to be one in Doctrine, and that they are not

.26.



varied in a tittle from their first Principles; but *as God is the Same, and the Truth is the same, so his People* (the Quakers) *are the same*; so one of their approved Authors has lately printed in his Book at *London*; after this I proceeded to reply to what was fit to be said, to those Printed Libels, their chief Speaker had read against me. And first, as to the Printed sheet, called, *The Christianity of the People called Quakers*, asserted (as they say) by *George Keith*; which is a deceitful contrivance of the Quakers, as if I had composed that sheet in form and manner as it is there \*Printed, which is altogether false. The sheet, I grant, contains some quotations, collected by the Quakers out of my former Books many Years ago, when I was among them; all which, so far as they were contrary to sound Doctrine contained in the holy Scripture, I had in Print retracted several Years ago: and therefore they did not now affect me. Though none of those quotations, however erroneous, contradict the Foundations of the Christian Faith, concerning our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, his Person, and twofold Nature, and Offices of Prophet, Priest and King, and the necessity of Faith in him as he outwardly came in the Flesh, died for our Sins, and rose again, &c. in order to Mens Salvation. Whereas the System of Quakerism, set forth in *George Fox's* great Mystery, and other Quaker Authors, is a point blank contradiction to this Faith.

.27.

Next, As to their Printed Libel, called, *One Wonder more*, &c., having no Name to it of any Person or People, I was not obliged to take notice of it; and it contained several notorious falsehoods, as that I had said, in the Book called, *Help in time of Need*,<sup>65</sup> that I had taken the *Scots* League and Covenant, and that Libeller positively charges me with having taken it, both which are utterly false! for I being Born in the Year 1638, I was not capable of taking it, when it was given, *vis.* about the Year 1643, by reason of my *non-age*, and it was never given in a National way since, in *Scotland*, that I know of: Again, that Libeller falsely accuseth me that I had said, I was not changed in my Perswasion in any thing since I had left the Quakers, from what I had, when among them. For, on the contrary, I have owned in Print that I was changed in my Perswasion and Judgment in several things, and had Printed a Book of Retraction of ma<sup>ny</sup> Errors I had been in, whilst I was among them. But, I thank God, I never had the worst of their Errors, nor any (that I can remember) that contradicted the necessity of Faith in Christ Jesus, who is both God and Man, in order to Mens Salvation, to which the Quakers Fundamental Principle, *that the Light within them is sufficient to Salvation without any thing else*, is a perfect contradiction. This vile Antichristian notion that sets up Deism, and overturns the Christian Faith, I never had, and I challenge my greatest Adversaries to prove it against me. Let the Quakers Retract and Renounce their Errors, as I have done mine, to

.28.

God's Praise, who has so enabled me, and I shall no more charge them therewith. And whereas they had upbraided me with my changing, I told them many Quakers had made as great changes as I had, and particularly *Richard Claridge*, now a great Author among them, who was first an Episcopal Preacher, then an Anabaptist Preacher, and now a Quaker Preacher.

After I had thus replied to their malicious Libels Read against me, I proceeded to read diverse other Quotations out of *Richard Claridge's Lux Evangelica*, and Mr. *Pen's Primitive Christianity*, and so continued detecting the gross absurdity of their assertions, till my second Hour was almost spent; and I renewed my demand to them, to give their Answer to what I had further both read and said in my second Hour.

But nothing did they say, to any one thing I had said; but after a long time of silence, they began to Preach, one after another, after their common way, intermixing therewith accusations against me, that I did pervert their Friends Words, and charged them falsely, but did not give one Instance to prove I had done so. And after they had continued their second \*Hour, Preaching and Railing against me, they went away.

.29.

Before the People that were not Quakers went away, I told them, I purposed to have another publick Meeting in the same place the 17th Instant, to begin about Eight a Clock in the forenoon, to detect the Quakers great Errors, particularly in their rejecting the Divine Institutions of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and of this I gave notice to the Quaker Preachers, desiring them to come and defend themselves if they could, they should have a fair hearing; but not one of them came. However many People of the Town came, both Church People and Dissenters, who (with great attention and satisfaction) heard me prove the Divine Institution of both Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and refute the Quakers Idle and absurd evasions and glosses, whereby they use to pervert the plain Texts of Scripture upon those heads, as they do upon all others controverted by them.

And here I think fit to give a List, or Catalogue, of the chief and most scandalous quotations I did read to the Quakers and Auditory present, at the abovesaid Meeting at *Newport on Rhod-Island*, out of *George Fox's* Great Mystery, *Richard Claridge's Lux Evang. attest.* and Mr. *Pen's Primitive Christianity*.

The Quotations out of *George Fox's* Great Mystery, &c.

- I. Pag. 246. Christ, God and Man, Flesh and Spirit, is in the Quakers.
- II. Pag. 249. Whole Christ, God and Man, is in Men.
- III. Pag. 211. Christ is not absent from his Church, as touching his Flesh.
- IV. Pag. 322. The Flesh of Christ is in them, because they Eat it.
- V. Pag. 322. The Flesh of Christ came down from above.

- \*VI. Pag. 250. And the Devil was in thee, and thou saith, thou art saved by Christ without thee, and so hast recorded thyself to be a reprobate. .30.
- VII. Pag. 246. He Quotes *Isai. 9. 6.*<sup>66</sup> to prove, that God the Father took upon him Man's Nature.
- VIII. Pag. 9. He will not allow, that Christ is to come to Judgment without us, at the end of the World; but saith, Christ is come to *Judgment*, and he blames his Opponent, for having any such expectation;—*who are come to Christ the Light, the Life, they need not go forth, viz. to look for a Christ without them.*
- IX. Pag. 350. The Scriptures are not the means, nor the Rule of Faith. The means of Salvation is not ordinary, nor outward.
- X. Pag. 302. The Spirit is the Rule, saith Christ.
- XI. Pag. 229. He blames the Ministers of *New-Castle*, and saith, they are not fit to be Ministers who know not the State of Souls from Eternity to Eternity.
- XII. Pag. 281, and 318. He pleads for a Perfection in fulness, above any degree, before the death of the Body; and saith, he witnessed it. And pag. 282, 197. He pleads for a Perfection, as God is Perfect, in *equality* and not in *quality* only. Like to this is what he saith to his Opponent.
- Pag. 67. Again: Thou makest a great pudder, that any one should witness he is *equal* with God. And in his Answer he proves his equality with God, against his Opponent, from the *Westminster Catechism*.<sup>67</sup>
- Pag. 127. He giveth the same Proof that he is *equal with God*, from the Assemblies Catechism made at *Westminster*;<sup>68</sup> his Opponent being some Presbyterian or Independent, who owned that Catechism: But \*that Catechism doth not say, that *George Fox*, or any meer Man, was equal with God; but that the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are equal with God the Father; which is orthodox Doctrine. But the Mystery of *George Fox's* Argument did consist in this, that he was the Son, and consequently he was equal with God. The dispute betwixt him and his Opponent, was not, whether the Son, *viz.* the second Person of the Holy Trinity, was equal with God the Father, for his Opponent owned that.
- XIII. Pag. 73. None can know Christ by the Scriptures.
- Pag. 168. Them that never heard the Scripture outwardly, the Light that every Man hath that cometh into the World, being turned to it, with that they will see Christ, with that they will know Scripture, with that they will be led out of all delusions, come into Covenant with God, with which they will come to Worship God in the Spirit, and serve him.
- Pag. 47. The Light of Men sufficient to Salvation, without the help of any other means of discovery.
- .31.

XIV. The Quakers are the only Ministers of Christ, since the Apostles days.

The Quotations I did then read out of a Book of *Richard Claridge*, called *Lux Evangelica attestata*.

- I. Pag. 17, 18, 19. He saith God doth afford to all Men, even in the ordinary way of his Providence, such a manifestation of his Light or Spirit, as is sufficient to lead and Guide the *Faithful* into all truth necessary to Salvation, without Scripture. Note, by *Faithful*, he means *Faithful to the Light within* them, who have not the Scripture.
- II. Pag. 49. Faith in Christ, as outwardly, (he saith) is no essential part of the Christian Religion.
- .32. \*III. Pag. 26. He denies that Christ's Body is the same in Substance he had on Earth.
- IV. Pag. 90. He justifies that Assertion of Mr. *Pen*, in his Preface to Mr. *Barclaye's Folio Book*,<sup>69</sup> pag. 36. Oh Friends! great is the Mystery of Godliness, God manifest in the Flesh;—and if that be a Mystery, how much more is the Work of Regeneration a Mystery, that is wholly inward and Spiritual. And to confirm it, the said *R. C.*<sup>70</sup> calls Christ within the Mystery of that Mystery, *viz.* of Christ without.

The Quotations I did then read out of Mr. *Pen's Primitive Christianity*.

- I. Pag. 30. Concerning the *Light within* all Men, he saith; If it reveal God, (which he affirms from *Rom. 2. ver. 7*, to 17,<sup>71</sup> in pag. 73, 74) to be sure it manifests Christ.
- II. Pag. 50, to 55. The Heathens have the same Light in them, that true Christians have.
- III. Pag. 78. All Religion is but one in the many modes and shapes of it; if Men be obedient to the Light within. Note, this takes away all real and substantial distinction betwixt Deism, and Christianity, and betwixt natural and revealed Religion.

August 16.  
Sunday.

I Preached in the Church at *Newport* on *Rhod-Island*, on *Acts 26. 18.*<sup>72</sup> having Preached on the same Text, the *Wednesday* foregoing, in the same place.

August 24.

Being the Tenth Day after the Conference I had with the Quakers at *Newport* on *Rhod-Island*, a Quaker Preacher Woman, living at *Newport*, who has been a Speaker in the Quakers Meeting upwards of Forty Years, writ a long Letter to me, which I have by me, where, after diverse severe Charges against me, in meer generals, she blames me for saying to the Quaker Preachers at *Portsmouth*, which is at the other end of the *Island*, where I went to visit them, at their \*Meeting there *August* the 13<sup>th</sup>, that they did not Preach Christ enough, as he

.33.

was outwardly Crucified and lifted up on the Tree of the Cross; and whereas I had said unto them, that they should direct their Hearers, to look by Faith to Christ, as he was Crucified, and lifted up on the Tree of the Cross, in order to be spiritually healed, as the *Israelites* in the Wilderness were directed by *Moses* to look to the *Brasen Serpent*, to be healed Bodily, after they were bit by Serpents there, for which I had quoted *Joh. 3. 14.* This most ignorant Woman Preacher, in her said Letter to me, denies that the lifting up of Christ in *Joh. 3. 14.*<sup>73</sup> is to be meant of his lifting up on the Tree of the Cross, or that People should be directed to him for healing, as he was there lifted up.

To overthrow my assertion she gives diverse Reasons.

- I. That lifting up, *Joh. 3. 14.* is the same with that whereof he said, I, when I am lifted up, will draw all Men after me: but that was not his lifting up on the Cross.
- II. The Enemies of God, did lift him upon the Tree, &c.
- III. He is not now upon the Tree, nor did he long stay there.
- IV. It would be a great fallacy, and known Error, for any to Preach to People, that they should look for him upon the Tree, seeing he is not there, but risen.

Some time after I received her Letter, I writ an Answer to her, and laboured therein to convince her of her gross ignorance, as well as of perverting both my Words and Sense, as if what I had said to the Quaker Preachers at *Portsmouth*, where she was present, that they were to Preach to People, to direct them to \*look to Christ for healing, as he was lifted up on the Tree, did purport, that they were to go on Foot to *Jerusalem*, to look to him with their Bodily Eyes, than which there could be no greater perversion of Words. And if this be not a wilful perversion in her, she is most extremely ignorant, to think that there can be no looking to Christ, as he suffered on the Tree of the Cross, but by the bodily sight, seeing it is very common in Scripture, to express Faith in God and in Christ by looking to him.

.34.

And her pretended Argument from *Joh. 12. 32.*<sup>74</sup> is most evidently against her, for that his lifting up, *Joh. 12. 32.* is to be understood, his lifting up on the Tree, whereon he was Crucified, is clear from v. 33. *This he said, signifying what manner of Death he should die.* She was so mightily pleased with her Letter to me, that lest it should miscarry, some Months after I received it in *Pensylvania*, she sent me a duplicate of it, as if it had been some Jewel.

This Letter of hers is a fresh Instance, beside many more, to prove that the Quakers have no real devout regard to Christ, as he suffered Death for our Sins, and rose again without us, &c. in order to our Salvation, as the necessary object of Faith. They do commonly say, they believe all that is written of Christ, his

Birth of the Virgin, his Life, Miracles, Death, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension, &c. But the fallacy lies here, that all this Faith (they say) is but Historical, and not the saving Faith; they believe it as they believe any other History, but they think it not necessary of Salvation, and that because it is necessary, it is to be Preached; nay, *George Whitehead*, a great Author among them, hath said in his Book, called, *Light and Life*,<sup>75</sup> *That to confide in Christ without us, is contrary to Deut. 30 and Rom. 10.* And the like he saith in *Truth \*defending.* And as plainly as any of them, Mr. *Pen* hath declared himself, *Quakerism a new nickname &c.*<sup>76</sup> pag. 6. Faith (saith he) in the History of Christ's outward manifestation is a deadly Poison these latter Ages have been infected with, to the destruction of Godly living.

August 23.  
Sunday. I Preached at *Naraganset*,<sup>77</sup> (that lyes on the Continent, but is not far from *Rhod Island*) at the House of Mr. *Opdyke's*, where I had a considerable Auditory, my Text was *Titus 2.11.*<sup>78</sup> The People there are very desirous, that a Church of England Minister be sent to them.<sup>79</sup>

August 27. I Preached at *Little Compton*, alias *Seaconot*, that lyes on the Continent also, not far from the *Island*, at the House of *Henry Head*,<sup>80</sup> where I had a large Auditory: my Text was *Jer. 31. 33.*<sup>81</sup> They are there also very desirous, that a Minister be sent to them.<sup>82</sup> Mr. *Lockyer* went a long with me, and read the Prayers at both Places.

August 30.  
1702.  
Sunday. Being accompanied with Mr. *Lockyer*, we crossed the Ferry at *Portsmouth* in the Morning, in order to be at *Swansey*, on the Continent, to Preach there, as accordingly I did; Mr. *Lockyer* read the Prayers; there was a large Auditory, my Text was *I Thess. 1. 5.*<sup>83</sup> They greatly desire a Minister to be sent unto them.

.36. As we were crossing the Ferry at *Portsmouth* on *Rhod Island*, by the good Providence of God we escaped a great danger; we had essayed to cross the Ferry the Day before, but the Wind was so strong, it was not safe to try it, hoping the next day would be more Calm; but the Wind little abated the next day, so that both Wind, and Sea, were very boisterous; when we were about half over the Ferry (that is of a considerable breadth) our Mast and Sail were beat down by the Wind, the Mast at its fall, touched gent\*ly my shoulder, and did me no harm; we had no ability to set up our Sail again, there being but one Negroe Man to manage the Boat, and we were in all three Passengers, and having three Horses in the Boat. So for some time we remained there must tossed by the Waves of the Sea, and were in danger to be driven out to the Sea and overwhelmed. After some time a Boat came off from Land to help us, and to Tow us to Land. But the Rope they gave us broke, and the Rope we gave them did also break, and so we were left helpless. But a Quaker of my former acquaintance, whose Name is *John Burden*,<sup>84</sup> who had also a Ferry-Boat, came with



all Speed in his Boat to relieve us, and Towed us to Land, having several able Men with him in the Boat, to manage her. After we landed, I offered Money to his Men, but he would not permit them to receive any. I thanked him very kindly for his help in our great Danger, and said to him, *John*, ye have been a means under God to save our natural Life, suffer me to be a means under God to save your Soul, by good information to bring you out of your dangerous Errors. He replied, *George*, *save thy own Soul, I have no need of thy help*; then, said I, I will pray for your Conversion; he replied, the Prayers of the Wicked are an abomination; so uncharitable was he in his opinion concerning me (as they generally are, concerning all who differ from them) though Charitable in this action.

The next Day, we crossed the Ferry in his Boat: After our landing he entertain'd us civilly at his House, with whom I had much Discourse, and I laboured much to inform him, how that the Quakers Principle, *that the Light within every Man was sufficient to Salvation without any thing else*, did plainly overthrow the Christian Faith, and set up meer *Deism* or *Heathenism* in the room of Christianity. But I could not prevail to convince him. He had a great many of the Quakers Printed Books lying in a Window in his House, which I looked upon, and asked him that he would sell them to me, for they would be useful to me in that Country; but he earnestly refused, and said, I should not have them, though I should give him double Money for them: Why, said I? Because (said he) thou wilt do Mischief with them; he meant, that I would expose the Quakers Principles, and make them known, what they are, out of their own Books; which the Quakers are loath should be known and therefore when Quotations are produced out of their Books, though ever so fairly Quoted, they use confidently to deny, there are any such in their Books, when the Books are not present to lay before them.

I Preached again at *Newport* on *Rhod-Island*, on *Joh. 12. 36.*<sup>55</sup> Mr. *Talbot* also Preached there several times, and commonly wherever we Travelled, the one of us Preached in the Fore-noon on the *Sundays*, and the other in the After-noon, except when the days were short, that there was no Sermon usual in the Afternoon; and sometimes, for the greater Service in diverse places, one Preached in one part, and one in another, at the same time.

The time that we remained at *Newport*, on *Rhod-Island*, Mr. *Carr*,<sup>56</sup> and Mr. *Laiton*,<sup>57</sup> Inhabitants on the *Island*, both of them of the Church of *England*, and of good repute among their Neighbours, shewed us several Commissions in writing, given to them, by Quaker Governours, with their Hands and Seals affixed, Commissionating them to be Military Officers, to fight against the *Indians*, and *French*, in the time of the several Wars the *English* had with them; to Kill and destroy their Enemies. The Qua\*ker Governours Names, who gave these Commissions

.37.

September 6.  
1702.  
Sunday.

.38.



to several, to be Military Officers in the Quaker Government, whose Commissions in the Original Signed and Sealed by them, we saw, and read, are, 1. *William Coddington*. 2. *Walter Clark*. 3. *John Eston*. 4. *Henry Bull*, all Preachers but the first;<sup>88</sup> *Walter Clark*, and *John Eston*, were alive when we were there, and I suppose still are alive, the other two were dead; true Copies of which Commissions, are now in the Custody of a Person of Quality in *England*, and can be produced if occasion require it. This I thought fit to make known, that it may evidently appear, how contrary the Quakers Practice, where they have the Government, is, to their professed Principle, that it is unlawful to them to fight with a Carnal Weapon, so much as in their own defence. The like Commission I have seen in the Original, given by some Quaker Magistrates at *Philadelphia*, in *Pensilvania*, about Fifteen Years ago, giving three Persons, there Commissions to be Captains, to go with their Companies to recover a Sloop by force of Arms, that some Privateers had stolen out of the Harbour.

That it is the Quakers professed Principle that they cannot fight, or Kill, in their own defence, is evident from several Declarations of their Leaders and Authors in Print, but especially from Mr. *Pen's Key*,<sup>89</sup> which has been oft reprinted. In Pag. 34, 35. he saith, They (i. e. the Quakers) cannot Kill or slay their own kind; for Proof of which he quotes 2 *Cor.* 10. 3, 5.<sup>90</sup> *The Weapons of our Warfare are not Carnal*, &c. This again was contradicted by the Quakers Practice in *Pensilvania*, who by his Authority or Allowance put several Persons to Death judicially, for suspected Murthers, (to several of which they had no Evidence made either by Witness, or by their Confession, whom they caused \*to be put to death.) And as to that Text Mr. *Pen* has quoted in his *Key*, 2 *Cor.* 10. 3, 5. for a Reason why the Quakers cannot use a Carnal Weapon. *Query*, Is not a Gallows, or Gibbet, on which the Quaker Judges in *Pensilvania* (some of which were Preachers also) caused some to be hanged for suspected Murther, a Carnal Weapon as really as a Sword, Gun, or Spear?

The like Contradiction, the Quakers are guilty of, in their late common Practice, of their Solemn calling God to Witness about worldly matters, contrary to their Professed Principle, published in Print by Mr. *Pen*, and several other Quakers, in their Treatise of Oaths. In that Book Mr. *Pen* saith, *To attest the Name of God in any Terrestrial Matter, is a breach of Christ's Command*, Matt. 5. 34, 37.<sup>91</sup>

Again, in Mr. *Pen's Key*, which hath had several impressions (Pag. 36 of one impression) he saith, *The Quakers can go no further than Yea, and Nay*, (viz. in their declarations in Civil Judicatures, &c.)<sup>92</sup> This Mr. *Pen* knoweth is contradicted, (if not by himself) by the frequent practice of Quakers, both in *England* and *America*, who, beyond their Yea, and Nay, solemnly call God to Witness in their affirmations before Magis-

trates, which, in the judgment of the most judicious, is the substance of an Oath, and without all controversie is more than Yea, and Nay. And this the prevailing Party of the Quakers in England have not only practised, but with no small endeavour have Petitioned to be granted unto them, by Act of Parliament, and which they have obtained. It is true, there is a small Party of Quakers opposite to this Practice, who think it is a going off from their Ancient Testimony of Yea, and Nay. But the other Party has carried it against them. And yet they would have it \*believed, they are all in perfect Unity of Principles, whereas they are much divided, as in their Principles about Swearing and Fighting, so in diverse others. A Quaker of good Note among them, has not only declared for Baptism, as being an Institution of Christ, but has actually received it, but not by any Minister of the Church of England, (as I am informed) which I wish he had done, if he was not formerly Baptized. I am also informed, that he has declared his Mind concerning the Lord's Supper, that it is of Divine Institution. I hope God in due time will further enlighten him to see, how grossly the Quakers have erred in other things, as much as in their throwing away those Two Divine Institutions, and calling them, worldly Rudiments and beggarly Elements, which Mr. Pen saith, in Print, *The Quakers have been led to reject by the same Spirit by which Paul (and the Apostles) were led to reject Circumcision*; yet I have not heard, that the Quakers have cast him out of their Communion, for his taking up, what both he, and they, had so long thrown away. I hope he is not of his Brethrens Opinion, that *the Light within him, and within all Men, is sufficient to Salvation, without any thing else*; for if he were, I cannot see, what need he could think he had, either of Baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or of the Scriptures, or of Christ without him, and his precious Blood, and Sacrifice upon the Cross for our Sins, and his continued intercession for us in Heaven with the Father; all which are something else, than the Light within him.

.40.

I happened in America, while I was there Travelling, to see a Book lately Printed, called *New-England Judged*, having a Printed Appendix to it, by John Whiting Quaker,<sup>28</sup> who has set up of late for a great Author among them, and who is extremely ignorant as well as confident, to utter Falshoods and abusive \*Slanders. In his said Appendix, he utters a notorious Falshood upon me, as if at Philadelphia, about the Year 1692, I had fained my self a Prisoner, and to make this Fiction to be believed, I had gone to the Porch of the Prison, the Prison door being shut against me, and from the Porch of the Prison, had writ and dated a Paper of complaint against the Quakers for my imprisonment; and to make his Reader take the greater notice of it, he has caused the following Words to be printed on the Margin in great Black Letters; *Note, George Keith's-Mock Imprisonment*. Now to prove the notorious falshood of

.41.

this, I need go no further than a book of one of his Brethren, viz. *Samuel Jennings*,<sup>94</sup> Printed at London, 1694, called by him, *The State of the Case*, &c. wherein, though he has uttered many falshoods, concerning the State of the Case, about our differences in Principles of Religion, in the Years 1691, and 1692. whereof I had largely detected him in my Printed Reply to his Book; yet he saith true, in what he did Report in his Book, concerning two Persons, whom the Quakers had put in Prison, the one for Printing a sheet of mine, I called an *Appeal*, &c.<sup>95</sup> and the other for selling one or two of them when Printed; the Name of the Printer is *William Bradford*,<sup>96</sup> the Name of the other is *John Mackcomb*.<sup>97</sup> Now concerning them the said Quaker, *Samuel Jennings*, Reports, that they signed a Paper from the Prison, when they signed it in the Entry common to the Prison, and the next House. Thus he gives the true matter of Fact, and tells truly who Signed that Paper in the Entry or Porch, which were those two abovenamed Persons, but mentions not me, as being concerned in Signing that Paper, either in the Entry or Porch, or any where else. And to be sure if I had been one of the Persons, who had Signed that Paper, \*he would have told the World of it, as thereby thinking to have some great matter against me. For he chargeth it upon these two above-named Persons, *William Bradford*, and *John Mackcomb*, that it was deceit in them to sign a Paper from the Prison, when they were not in the Prison, but in the Porch or Entry of it, as he saith. In my Answer to him, I have shewed it was no deceit, nor had any thing blame-worthy; the Case was this. They were Prisoners by a Warrant from some Quaker Justices, for the Fact abovementioned, and had been detained in Prison from some time, and were ordered to be kept in Prison until the next Court, unless they gave security by Bonds to Answer at the next Court. After some time the Jaylor by favour let them go home, but still they were Prisoners, not being released by any Judicatory; and the Quaker Justices delaying to bring them to a Tryal, they went to the Prison to Write, and Sign their Petition from the Prison, to have their Tryal at the next Sessions; but it hapened that the Jaylor was gone abroad, and had the Key of the Prison with him, so that they could not get in. Now I see no deceit or insincerity in this, more than in the common Practice of many Quakers, who have printed Records of their suffering Imprisonment (for not paying Tithes) some Years, and yet they oft had liberty to go home, by favour of the Jaylors, to my certain Knowledge. But whether *William Bradford* and *John Mackcomb*, were guilty of deceit or not, is not material to the present Case of *John Whiting* his Vile Slander, as if I had been the Person, or one of the Persons, who had Writ that Paper from the Porch or Entry of the Prison. This is a sufficient Proof, that what *John Whiting* has thus Printed against me, was not from the in\*fallible Spirit, and that he is therefore by *George Fox's* Sentence, a Deceiver.

.42.

.43.

## [IN CONNECTICUT]

[September, 1702]

We came from *Newport* on *Rhod Island* and crossed the Ferry over to *Naraganset*, and lodged that Night at Mr. *Balfures*<sup>97-a</sup> House, who Entertained us very kindly and hospitably, and next day we Travelled about 25 Miles, and lodg'd at Mr. *Sextons*,<sup>98</sup> an Inn-keeper; and next day we safely arrived at *New London* in *Connecticot* Colony, and Government, which stands by a Navigable River.

September  
10. 1702.

Mr. *Talbot* Preached there in the Forenoon, and I Preached there in the Afternoon, we being desired so to do by the Minister, Mr. *Gurdon Saltenstall*,<sup>99</sup> who civilly Entertained us at his House, and expressed his good affection to the Church of *England*, as did also the Minister at *Hampton*, and the Minister at *Salisbury* abovementioned, and diverse others *New-England* Ministers did the like. My Text was *Rom. 8. 9.*<sup>100</sup> The Auditory was large, and well affected. Col. *Wincop*<sup>101</sup> [error for "Winthrop"], Governour of the Colony, after Forenoon Sermon, invited us to Dinner at his House, and kindly Entertained us, both then, and the next day.

Septemb.  
13.  
Sunday.

## [IN NEW YORK]

[September, 1702]

## [ON LONG ISLAND]

We hired a sloop to carry us from *New-London* to *Long-Island*<sup>102</sup> over the Sound, being about Six Leagues Broad, and that day we safely arrived at a Place on *Long-Island*, called, *Oyster-Ponds*, about Noon, after that we came on Horseback that Day 24 Miles, and lodged at Mr. *Howels*<sup>103</sup> an Inn-keeper, the next Day we Travelled 45 Miles, to *Seatauket*, and lodged at Mr. *Gibs*,<sup>104</sup> Innkeeper; the next Day, being the 17th Instant, we Travelled 32 Miles, all upon *Long-Island*, and arrived at *Oysterbay*,<sup>105</sup> where we were kindly received, and hospitably entertained by Mr. *Edward White*<sup>106</sup> at his House, on free cost, for several Days, where we staid to rest and refresh us. He was a Justice of Peace, and \*had been formerly a Quaker, and his Wife had been a Quaker also, and was not quite come off from the Quakers.

Sept.  
15. 1702.

.44.

At the Request of Mr. *Edward White*, and some other Neighbours in the Town, having used the Church Prayers before Sermon, I Preached on *Titus 2. 11, 12.*<sup>107</sup> And that Day Mr. *Talbot* Baptized a Child, at the request of the Child's Mother, her Husband being from home.

Septemb.  
20  
Sunday

Septemb.

24

1702.

.45.

I went to the Quakers Meeting at *Flushing*<sup>108</sup> on *Long-Island*, accompanied with Mr. *Talbot* and the Reverend Mr. *Vesey*,<sup>109</sup> the Church of *England* Minister at *New-York*, and diverse other Persons belonging to *Jamaica* (a *Town* on *Long-Island*),<sup>110</sup> well affected to the Church of *England*. After some time of silence, I began to speak, standing up in the Gallery, where their Speakers use to stand when they speak; but I was so much interrupted by the Clamour and Noise, that several of the Quakers made, forbidding me to speak, that I could not proceed. After this, one of their Speakers began to Speak, and continued Speaking about an Hour, the whole was a ramble of nonsense and perversion of Scripture, with gross reflections both on the Church, and the Government there. Several times speaking of Christ, he said, *while Christ was in that Prepared Body*, which is a common phrase among them; whereby they plainly intimate, they do not believe he is now in that Body, or that he has any thing of that Body, which he had on Earth. Nor do they own that Christ has any Body but his Church, or such a Body as he had from all Eternity, and is every where; all which hath been sufficiently proved out of the Printed Books of their most noted Authors. He said, they (*viz.* the Quakers) believed in that very Christ that died at *Jerusalem*; and a little after he said, that, that Christ, was the Seed that was \*oppressed by Sin in Men. He Preached against all Creeds, and accused all their Adversaries that they kicked against the Spirit. This was a reflexion upon the Church of *England*, because she doth not hold, that Men have those extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit, to Preach, and Pray, as the Quaker Preachers pretend to have; but as they have it not, it is evident they have an extraordinary impudence to father all their ignorant and nonsensical Expressions, and perversions of Scripture, (which they commonly utter in their Meetings) upon the Holy Ghost, which is a most dreadful Sin. He said, Vice was set up, which was a reflexion upon the Government there, because some were lately made Justices of the Peace on *Long-Island*, that were not greatly affected to Quakerism. After he had done, he went away out of the Meeting in all hast, fearing (I suppose) he should be questioned about the things he had said. I stood up again to speak in their Meeting, but they made a new interruption, and threatened me with being guilty of the breach of the Act of Toleration, and that by my so doing I had put my self Twenty Pounds in the Queen's Debt; I told them, I had not broke the Act of Toleration, for I made no interruption, but was silent all the while that their Preacher was speaking; but they had broke the Act of Toleration, by interrupting me, when I began to Speak; they told me, I had no right to Speak in their Meetings. I answered, I had better right to Speak in these Meeting-Houses, than any of their Speakers had; at this they seemed greatly to Wonder; and asked how I could make that appear, for the House and Ground was theirs, which they had bought with their

Mony, and to which I had contributed nothing: And one of them was so hot, that he commanded me to go out of the House, for it was his House, and for me to stay in \*his House, against his will, was contrary to Law, and he could Prosecute me. I Answered him, it was not his Property; all who have a Mind to come into that House at Meeting time, may come, it being appointed for a Religious Meeting-House, where all have a common Right; and according to the Act of Toleration, ye are bound to keep your Doors open where ye Meet; and if ye shut them against me, or any, we may prosecute you by Law. But, said they, How has thou a better right to speak in our Meeting-House than we? I told them, in a double respect: First, that Meeting-House was appointed for the service of Truth, (which is their own manner of Phrase,) and that what was Truth, should be spoken in it, and not falshood and error; and therefore, while I speak Truth in it, and your Speakers speak not Truth, but falshood and errors, I have a better right than they. Secondly, None of your Speakers have any right to speak in your Meeting-Houses, because ye have not your Meeting-Houses Licensed, as the Act of Toleration expressly requires; nor have any of your Preachers qualified themselves as that Act express, *viz.* to Sign to Thirty-four of the Articles of Religion of the Church of *England*; this they have not done, nor can do, because the Quakers Principles are contrary to most of them, or rather indeed to them all, whereas I am qualified, as the Act requires. They accused me, that I came not in Love to Preach to them, but was hired by the Bishops to come, and that the Love of Money brought me to *America*, and not Love to their Souls. I told them it was a false accusation.

.46.

I owned it, that God had raised up Friends to assist me with Money, in such a chargeable Undertaking; but this was no more than what the Quakers at *London* did, who largely supply the Travelling Friends \*who come over from *England* into *America*, with Mony out of their National Stock, beside what they gather up in the several Meetings in *America*, which they visit. They replied, they never knew any Mony given to any Travelling Friends, by their Meeting. And they asked me, if I had any Mony from them, while I was a Travelling Friend among them? Yes, said I, I have had from this very Meeting. They asked of whom, and when? I told them, of an honest Woman, yet living not far distant; they replied, Art not thou a Treacherous Man to tell this? Why, said I, to tell the Truth, in answer to your Question. It is a thing well enough known to themselves, that they have frequent Collections, at their Monthly, and Quarterly Meetings, one cheif use whereof is, to furnish the Travelling Friends with Mony.

.47.

One of the Quakers at that Meeting in *Flushing*, that made the interruption, did openly accuse me in the Meeting, that I had defrauded the Poor of 50 Pounds of Mony, which *Miles Forster*<sup>111</sup> had delivered to me to give the Quakers at *London*,



- for the use of their Poor, being part of what Colonel West<sup>112</sup> had left to them by Legacy in his Will, (whereof *Miles Forster* was the sole Executor) The which Scandalous accusation, the Quakers of *Long-Island* had industriously spread over the Country against me; and the same was objected against me, by a Quaker at *Burlington* in *West-Jersey*, in the hearing of many present. But as I then declared, and I now declare, I had no Mony delivered to me by *Miles Forster*, to give to the Quakers at *London*, whether Poor or Rich. At my coming from *America*, in the Year 1693, the said *Miles Forster* gave me a Bill of 40 Pounds *English* Mony to be paid me at *London*, to my own proper use, (he being indebted to me, in some part of the \*like Sum.) But the Mony of this Bill, was no part of the Poors Mony, but was *Miles Forster's* own Mony, which he drew by Bill, upon a Person at *London*, that did owe him a far greater Sum; the which Bill was duly paid to me. When he gave me that Bill, he told me what was the occasion and cause, that moved him to do it, which was this, That to his certain knowledge, Col. *West*, out of the special respect and love he had to me, by his reading my Books, about the time the difference betwixt the Quakers of *Pensilvania*, and me, about matters of Religion began, had designed to give me some considerable Benefaction; and in order to that, when he lay sick at *Miles Forster's* House at *New-York*, he desired *Myles Forster* to Write to me to come to him. I was then living with my Family at *Philadelphia*, distant about an Hundred Miles from *New-York*. After I received this Message, I made all the hast I could to go to *New-York* unto him. But it so happened, that Col. *West* was Dead and Buried before I arrived. To answer the intent of Col. *West*, *Myles* told me, he gave me that Bill, to be paid to me at *London*, as some gratification to me, for the respect Col. *West* had to me, and also for the labour, and charge, I was at in my Journey, to come unto him. But none of the Mony of that Bill, was any part of what Col. *West* left in his Will to the Poor of the Quakers at *London*, but was *Myles Forster's* own Money, which was owing to him at *London* by the Person on whom he drew that Bill. If *Myles Forster* paid himself again that Money he gave me to my own proper use, out of that part of Col. *West's* Estate, that was left in Legacy to the Poor of the Quakers at *London*, *Myles Forster* was to be accountable to the Quakers, if they have any right to it, for his so doing, and not I; for it \*was simply *Miles Forster's* benefaction to me, though he gave it to me on Col. *West's* Account; Col. *West* having left to him, not only a considerable Legacy, as being his Executor, but had also left to him in his Will, full Power to dispose of what Money was left to the Poor of the Quakers at *London*, to what Quakers, or what sort of Quakers he thought fit; for no Names of Quakers, nor sort of Quakers were mentioned in the Will, nor no Name of any Meeting of Quakers mentioned therein, (there being at that time two sorts of Quakers at *London* opposite to



one another) and *Miles Forster* informed me, that much, if not most of what was left by Col. *West* in his Will to the Poor of the Quakers at *London*, was depending on a Condition expressed in the Will, that was not performed, and by somewhat that happened could not, nor ever can be performed; and consequently the far greatest part thereof, which was much more than the contents of that Bill which he gave to me, did wholly belong by right to him, being the Executor. But the Quakers and *Miles Forster*, are to debate the case betwixt them. The Quakers Lawyers at *New-York*, have sufficiently informed them, that they can have no Claim or Action against me, for what I received of *Miles Forster*. And *Miles Forster's* Lawyers, have declared their Mind in the Case, that the Quakers can have no right to sue him, for what he gave to me, whether he gave it out of the Money left in Col. *West's* Will to the Poor, or otherwise. Because, by the Will, he had Power to give to me what part of it he pleased, as well as to any other. And when I was lately with *Miles Forster*, at *Amboy* in *East Jersey*, where he now lives; he told me some *London* Quakers had sent their Letter of Attorney to some Quakers of *New-York* Province, to demand of him the Poors Money, that was left to their Poor of *London*, by the Will of Col. \**West*, and that they of *New-York* and he had some Meeting about it; and that he asked them, By what Right these Quakers at *London* did demand that Money, more than any other Quakers there, seeing their Names were not in the Will, nor the Names of any other, either of Persons, or Meetings. But to this they could give no satisfactory Answer, and so the Matter remains in suspence betwixt them.

.50.

I preached at *Hampsted* on *Long-Island* in the Afternoon, where was such a Multitude of People, that the Church could not hold them, so that many stood without at the Doors and Windows to hear; who were generally well affected, and greatly desired that a Church of *England* Minister should be settled among them; which has been done, for the Reverend Mr. *John Thomas* is now their Minister.<sup>113</sup> My Text was *Luke* 10. 42.<sup>114</sup>

September  
27, 1702.  
Sunday.

## [IN NEW YORK CITY]

We arrived at the Ferry by *New-York*.

At the Request of Mr. *Vesey*, the Minister at *New-York*, I preached at the Weekly Fast, which was appointed by the Government, by reason of the great Mortality that was then at *New-York*, where about *Five Hundred* died in the Space of a few Weeks, and that very Week, about *Seventy* died. My Text was, *Jam.* 5. 13.<sup>115</sup>

September  
28.  
September  
30.  
Wednesday

## [IN NEW JERSEY]

[October 1-November 3, 1702]

- October 1. From the Ferry by *New-York*, we came to *Reedhook* on *Long-Island*, where we waited for a fair Passage, and next Day we got over to *Staten-Island*, and from *Staten-Island* to *Amboy*<sup>116</sup> in *East-Jersey*.
- October 3. I preached at *Amboy* in *East-Jersey*,<sup>117</sup> the Auditory was Sunday. small; My Text was *Tit. 2. 11, 12.*<sup>118</sup> But such as were there, were well affected; some of them, of my former Acquaintance, and others who had been formerly Quakers but were come over to the Church, particularly *Miles Forster*, and *John Barclay*<sup>119</sup> (Brother to *Robert Barclay*, who published the Apology for the Quakers) the Place has very few In\*habitants. We were several Days kindly entertained by *Miles Forster* at his House there.
- .51. We went to the Meeting of the Quakers at *Toponemes*, on *Freehold*, in *East-Jersey*,<sup>120</sup> who used to keep a separate Meeting from the other Quakers, for their gross Errors; and joined with me and my Friends in the Separation, about the year 1692; and it happened to be their Yearly Meeting, where diverse came from *West-Jersey* and *Pensilvania*: One of their Preachers pray'd and preached before I began. After he had done, I used some of the Church Collects I had by heart, in Prayer; and after that, I preached on *Heb. 5. 9.*<sup>121</sup> There was a considerable Auditory of diverse sorts; some of the Church, and some Presbyterians, besides the Quakers; they heard me without any Interruption, and the Meeting ended peaceably. Their two Speakers lodged in the same House with me that Evening, at the House of *Thomas Boels*,<sup>122</sup> formerly a Quaker, but is now of the Church. I had some free Discourse with them about several weighty things: I told them, so far as they used their Gifts to instruct the Ignorant, and reclaim them from the vile Errors of Quakerism, they were to be commended; but that they had taken upon them to Administer Baptism and the Lord's-Supper to any, they were greatly to be blamed, having no due external Call, or Ordination, so to do.
- October 10. We met again the next Day, and had the like Auditory; 1702. Their other Speaker pray'd and preached, and after that, I Sunday. pray'd, using the same Collects as the Day before, and preached on *I Thes. 5. 19.*<sup>123</sup> without any Interruption, and the Meeting peaceably ended. I could blame nothing in the Matter of their second Speaker, nor in the former, except where he said in his Discourse, *That they who were in Christ, need not fear Hell*. I endeavoured to clear the Matter in my Dis\*course, by distinguishing betwixt an Absolute Fear of Hell, such as the Wicked ought to have, and a Conditional Fear, which Good Men, even such who are in Christ, ought to have; and about this he and I had some private Discourse also betwixt us, but
- October 11. Monday.
- .52.

he was dissatisfied, and would not own, *That any who were in Christ, ought to have any Fear of Hell*, so much as Conditional.

I preached at *Midleton in East Jersey*, where, before Sermon, Mr. *Talbot* read the Church Prayers, and I preached on *Mat. 28. 19, 20.*<sup>124</sup> One main part of my Sermon being to prove Infant-Baptism to be included in the Apostles Commission, as well as that of Adult Persons, there being several of the Auditory who were Anabaptists, who heard me civilly, without any Interruption; but most of the Auditory were Church People, or well affected to the Church.

I preached at *Shrewsbury in East-Jersey* at a House near the Quakers Meeting-house, and it happened that it was the Time of the Quakers Yearly Meeting at *Shrewsbury*: My Text was *2. Pet. 2. 1, 2.*<sup>125</sup> The Church Prayers being read before Sermon, we had a great Congregation, generally well affected to the Church, and diverse of them were of the Church, and that Day I sent some Lines in Writing to the Quakers at their Yearly Meeting; which Mr. *Talbot* did read to them in their Meeting, wherein I desired them to give me a Meeting with them some day of that Week, before their Meetings were concluded; in which Meeting, I offered to detect great Errors in their Authors Books, and they should have full Liberty to answer what they had to say in their Vindication. But they altogether refused my Proposition; and several Papers pass'd betwixt us: In some of their Papers, they used gross Reflections on the Church of *England*, as much as on me. We continu'd our Meetings three Days, as the Quakers did theirs. And the second Day of our Meeting at the same House, where we had formerly met, I detected the Quakers Errors out of their printed Books, particularly out of the Folio Book of *Edw. Burroughs* Works, collected and published by the Quakers after his Death, and did read the Quotations to the Auditory, laying the Pages open before such as were willing to read them for their better Satisfaction, as some did read them.

Some of the Quotations were such as follow:

Page 126. *Their (i e. the Ministers) prophecy and Preaching would soon be ended, if they had not the Scripture to preach their Imaginations upon.*

Page 273. *Quakers Sufferings greater and more unjust than the Sufferings of Christ and the Apostles.*

Page 19. *He denies a written Word. . . . No other Word (saith he) do I own but Christ.*

Page 402. *He will revoke if any can prove, that the Scriptures call themselves the Word.*

Page 484. *The Spirit of God, the only standing Rule to walk by, not the Scriptures.*

Page 292. *The Flesh of Christ's Body Infinite.*

Page 515. *God and the Spirit, not Persons, but Infinite Beings.*

October  
17.  
Sunday.

October  
24.  
Sunday.  
1702.

.53.

Pag. 698. *They (i. e., the Quakers) are One with the Father in Nature.*

Pag. 432. *All that Christians practise is become Idolatry.*  
Pag. 27. *That which sinned could not be saved, &c.*

October 26.  
1702.  
Tuesday.

.54.

I preached again at *Shrewsbury*, on *Mat. 7. 13.*<sup>120</sup> In all these Meetings at *Shrewsbury*, *Midletoun*, and *Toponemes*, or where-ever else, on *Nethersinks*,<sup>127</sup> Mr. *Lewis Morris*, and diverse others of best Note in that Country, frequented the Congregations and Places where we preach\*ed, and did kindly entertain us at their Houses, where we lodged as we travelled too and again; particularly Mr. *Moris*, Mr. *Innes*,<sup>128</sup> Mr. *Johnston*,<sup>129</sup> Mr. *Boels*, and Mr. *Read*,<sup>130</sup> Mr. *Innes* being in Priest's Orders, has oft preached among them, and by Preaching, and Conferences frequently with Quakers and other sorts of People, as also by his pious Conversation, has done much Good among them, and been very instrumental to draw them off from their Errors, and bring them over to the Church.

October 29.  
1702.

November

1

Sunday.

We arrived at *Burlington*<sup>131</sup> in *West-Jersey*.

We preached in the Town-House at *Burlington*, (the Church not being then built) and we had a great Auditory of diverse sorts, some of the Church, and some of the late Converts from Quakerism. Mr. *Talbot* preached before Noon, and I in the Afternoon. Mr. Text was *John 27. 3.*<sup>132</sup> Col. *Hamilton*,<sup>133</sup> then Governour of *West-Jersey*, was present both Forenoon and Afternoon, and at his Invitation we dined with him.

November

3.

At *Burlington* I detected the Quakers Errors out of their great Authors, *George Fox* his great Mystery, and *Edward Burroughs* Folio Book, and others, having given the Quakers Preachers Notice two Days before, to come and defend their Principles and Authors; but none of them would appear in the Cause.

## [IN PHILADELPHIA]

[November 5-8, 1702]

November  
5.

We arrived at *Philadelphia*, and were kindly received by the two Ministers there,<sup>134</sup> and the Church People, and especially by the late Converts from Quakerism, who were become zealous Members of the Church.

November  
8.  
Sunday.

I preached in the Church of *Philadelphia*, at the Minister's Request, on 2. *Pet. 3. 15, 16.*<sup>135</sup> in the Afternoon. Mr. *Talbot* preached there in the Forenoon. And again I preached another Sermon, on the same, that Evening, after six a Clock, (it being usual once a Month to preach an Evening-Sermon in that Town). We had a very great Auditory, so that the Church could \*not contain them, but many stayed without and heard.

.55.

## [SECOND VISIT TO NEW YORK]

[November 10-December 13, 1702]

## [MEETING OF THE CLERGY IN NEW YORK CITY]

That Week a Meeting of the Clergy being appointed to meet together at *New-York* by general Consent, we accordingly did meet, being Seven in number;<sup>136</sup> at our Meeting we drew up an Account of the State of the Church in these *American Parts* of *Pensilvania*, *West* and *East-Jersey*, and *New-York Province*; a Copy whereof we sent to the Honourable Society at *London*, for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Colonel *Nicholson*,<sup>137</sup> Governour of *Virginia*, to encourage us to meet, was so generous to bear our Charges, (I mean of all of us that lived not at *New-York*) beside his other great and generous Benefactions to the Building and Adorning many Churches lately built in these Parts, whereof a particular Account has been given to the Honourable Society.<sup>138</sup>

I preached at *New-York* on *Revel. 3. 20*,<sup>139</sup> being *Sacrament-Day*.

November  
15. 1702.

I preached again at *New-York*, on *Rom. 6. 17, 18*,<sup>140</sup> in the Forenoon, and Mr. *Talbot* in the Afternoon. My Lord *Cornbury*,<sup>141</sup> Governour of *New-York* and the *Jerseys*, was very kind to us, and at his Invitation, we did eat at his Table both Sundays and other Times.<sup>142</sup>

November  
22.  
Sunday.

I Preached at *Hampsted* on *Long-Island*, on *Acts 26. 18*.<sup>143</sup>

November 26

I Preached again at *Hampsted*, on *Heb. 8. 10, 11, 12*.<sup>144</sup>

Thursday.  
November 29.

I visited again the Quakers meeting at *Flushing* on *Long-Island*, having obtained a Letter from my Lord *Cornbury*, to Two Justices of Peace, to go along with me, to see that the Quakers should not interrupt me, as they had formerly done: But notwithstanding the Two Justices that came along with me, to signifie my Lord *Cornbury's* Mind, by his Letter to them, which was read to them in their Meeting by Mr. *Talbot*, they used the like interruption as formerly, and \*took no notice of my Lord *Cornbury's* Letter, more than if it had been from any private Person. They renewed their former accusation against me, that I had broke the Act of Toleration; I replied, I had not broke it, for I did not interrupt any of them; they answered, I interrupted their silent Worship; I said, I knew no Clause in *that Act*, that forbid the interruption of their silent Worship. I brought the Printed Act of Toleration with me to their Meeting, and Mr. *Talbot* did Read several Passages out of it to them, to shew that they had neither qualified their Meeting-Houses, nor their Preachers, as the Act required. But notwithstanding they objected the Act of Toleration against

1702.  
Sunday.  
December  
3. 1702.

me; when I objected it against them, they said, that Act did not extend to *America*; Behold their Partiality! We stayed and heard three of their Speakers one after another, though it was very grievous to us to hear so much nonsense, and perversion of Scripture, uttered by them; and all this upon pretence of being moved by the Spirit of God. Their chief Speaker, who is a most ignorant Person, said, *Balak had sent Balaam to Curse the People of God*.<sup>145</sup> His Sense and perverse Application of that historical Passage of Scripture, is easy to understand without a Commentary. After they had done, they generally went away, Speakers and others; but many, who were not Quakers, stayed, and heard me resume and detect the gross Perversions and Misapplications of the Scriptures, which they had made. And after this, I detected out of a Book of *George Whitehead*, called *The Divinity of Christ*, his vile Error concerning Christ, both with respect to his Godhead and Manhood, and I did read the Passages out of his Book in the Hearing of the Auditory. In his said Book, he blames, his Opponent, *Thomas Vincent*,<sup>146</sup> for affirming \*that the Son proceeded from the Father by an eternal Act of Generation, and chargeth it with Confusion and Nonsense. Also in the same Book he brings many Places of Scripture, all which he grossly perverts, to prove that Christ suffered as God. And in the Appendix to his Book, he blames his Opponent, *Th. Dawson*<sup>147</sup> [error for *Danson*], for saying, *Christ, as Man, had a created Soul and Body*; and from his so saying doth infer, by way of Quaery, Doth not this render him a Fourth Person? And *George Fox* in his Preface to that Book, most ignorantly and perversely argues against the Three Persons in the Godhead, inferring, by way of Quaery, (their common way of Disputing) Doth not this render them Four Persons? Just as *John Whiting*, a late Author among them, in his Book called, *Judas and the Chief Priests*,<sup>148</sup> doth ridicule that Passage in the Litany of the Church of England, *O Holy, Blessed and Glorious Trinity, Three Persons and One God*; inferring, that from this there should be Four Persons; for that Three and One are Four: Whereas in the Act of Toleration, there is an express Clause that excludes all such from the Benefit of the Act, *That either in their Speaking or Writing, deny the Holy Trinity, as taught and professed in the Church of England*: and yet these very Persons that thus revile and ridicule the Doctrine of the *Holy Trinity, as taught in the Church of England*, are mighty Pleaders for their Liberty by the Act of Toleration; as if not only their Meetings and Preachings were Tolerated, but Authorized by the Act.

December

6.

1702.

December 13.

I preached at Oysterbay in the Town-House, on *Rom.* 10. 7, 8, 9.<sup>149</sup> And we were kindly entertained at the House of Mr. *Edward White* abovementioned.

I preached at Staten-Island in the Town-House on *Titus* 2. 11, 12.<sup>150</sup>



## [SECOND VISIT TO NEW JERSEY]

[December 20, 1702-January 10, 1702/03]

I preached at Dr. Johnston's, at *Nethersinks*, on Rev. December 20.  
22. 14.<sup>151</sup> 1702.

\*I preached at the house of Mr. Morris, on Luke 2. 10, .58.  
11.<sup>152</sup> And after Sermon, diverse of the Auditory received with December 25.  
us the Holy Sacrament; both Mr. Morris and his Wife, and Friday, being  
diverse others. Mr. Talbot did administer it. Christmas

I preached in *Shrewsbury Town*, near the Quakers Meet- Day.  
ing-House, at a Planter's House, and had a considerable Audi- Decemb. 27.  
tory of Church People lately converted from Quakerism, with Sunday.  
diverse others of the Church of best Note in that Part of the 1702.

I preached at the House of Mr. Thomas Boels at *Freehold* January 1.<sup>154</sup>  
in *East-Jersey*: My Text was *Isaiah* 59. 20, 21.<sup>155</sup> Before Friday.  
Sermon, after the Church Prayers, I baptized all his Children;  
two Sons and three Daughters. He was formerly a Quaker,  
but is now come over to the Church; also a Son of Samuel  
Dennis,<sup>156</sup> a late Convert from Quakerism.

I preached again at his House, on the same Text, and January 3.  
before Sermon Mr. Talbot baptized two Persons belonging to Sunday.  
the Family of John Read, formerly a Quaker, but was lately 1702.  
come over to the Church with all his Children; one Son and two  
Daughters. His two Daughters were baptized by Mr. Talbot,  
October 24. 1702. As also the same day were baptized William  
Leads<sup>157</sup> and his Sister Mary Leads, late Converts from Quaker-  
ism to the Church: And some Days before, at the House of  
John Read, Mr. Talbot baptized the wife of Alexander Neaper  
and his three Children.<sup>158</sup> Both he and his Wife had been  
Quakers, but were come over to the Church.

I came to the House of Robert Ray<sup>159</sup> in *Freehold* in *East-* January 4.  
*Jersey*, accompanied with Thomas Boels, and lodged at his House 1702.  
that Night. At his and his Wife's Desire, I baptized all his  
Children, some Boys and some \*Girles, in number Five: they  
both had been Quakers. His Wife is come over to the Church,  
but he was not then come throughly off from Quakerism. .59.

I preached at *Burlington* at the House of Mr. Revel, on January 10.  
Mat. 6. 33.<sup>160</sup> And I baptized a Man's Child who was a Church- Sunday.  
man, where I had a large Auditory.

## [SECOND VISIT TO PENNSYLVANIA]

[January 11, 1702/03-April 4, 1703]

We came to *Philadelphia*, and lodged at the House of Mrs. January 11.  
Welch all the Time we happened to be at *Philadelphia*, until we



went from *Pensilvania* to *Virginia* and *North-Carolina*, in the Months of *April* and *May*, 1702. She had been a Quaker for many Years, and of good good Repute. About the Years 1691 and 1692, it pleased God, by my Means, through the Illumination of the Holy Spirit, to give her and her Daughter (who was educated in Quakerism) to see their Errors and forsake them; and also many others in that Place about that time; who afterwards gradually came off from Quakerism, and at last came clearly off, and joined to the Church, whereof they are become zealous Members. She entertained us both at her House (*viz.* Mr. Talbot and me) all the time, abovementioned, and also after our Return, so long as we staid there, *gratis*.<sup>161</sup>

January 17.  
Sunday.

I preached at *Philadelphia*, on *John* 3. 5.<sup>162</sup> in the Forenoon, and Mr. Talbot preached in the Afternoon. I preached again on the same Text, an Evening Sermon, that begun after the sixth Hour at Night.

January 24.  
Sunday.  
1702.

I preached at *Philadelphia* on *Mat.* 5. 17.<sup>163</sup> both in the Forenoon and Afternoon; Mr. Evans<sup>164</sup> the Minister of *Philadelphia* having that Day been at *Chester* in *Pensilvania*, to accompany Mr. Talbot, who was to preach there the first Sermon in the Church after it was built.

January 31.  
Sunday.  
.60.

I preached at *Philadelphia*, on *Mat.* 5. 17, being my third Sermon on that Text; and the same Day at the sixth Hour at Night, I preached there on *I Cor.* 11. 28.<sup>165</sup>

February 7.  
Sunday.  
1702.

\*I preached at *Chester*<sup>166</sup> in *Pensilvania*, in the New Church, on *Mat.* 16. 18.<sup>167</sup>

February 9.  
Tuesday.  
February 11.

I preached a second Sermon on the same Text at *Couward*<sup>168</sup> [error for *Concord*] in *Pensilvania*, at the House of *John Hanon*.<sup>169</sup>

I preached a third Sermon on that Text at the House of *Thomas Powel*<sup>170</sup> in *Chester* County; both these Men, *John Hanon* and his Wife, and *Thomas Powel* and his Wife, had been Quakers, but are become zealous Members of the Church, with diverse others their Neighbours.

February 12.  
1702.

I had a Dispute with Mr. Killingsworth an Anabaptist Preacher,<sup>171</sup> at the House of *Thomas Powel*, before a great Auditory. The Subjects of our Dispute were, First, About Set Forms of Prayer. Secondly, about the manner of Baptizing, whether by Dipping or Sprinkling? Thirdly, Whether Infants of Believers are proper Subjects of Baptism? Fourthly, Concerning Ordination. It had a good Effect upon several present; and I hope upon himself; for by a Letter I received some time ago from Mr. Talbot, this Mr. Killingsworth is become well affected to the Church, and has proffered Ground to build a Church upon, and Wood to build it, upon his Land where he lives, at *Salem* in *West-Jersey*.

In the first Week of *February*, 1702. I had a Meeting with the Separate Quakers and their Preachers, who left the Quakers Meetings for their gross Errors, and joined with me about the Year 1691. They met at my lodging in *Philadelphia*, at my Re-

quest; and the next Week thereafter, we had another Meeting at the same place. I told them, that the reason why I desired to have a friendly Meeting and Conference with them, was, that I might answer their Objections against their Conformity to the Church of *England*, and particularly their Objections against Infants Baptism: Also I had some Discourse with one of their Preachers, to convince him of his *Antinomian*<sup>172</sup> Notion, and the great Error and Hurt of it, viz. *That they who are in Christ, ought not to fear Hell in any respect, not so much as Conditionally.* He was very earnest and warm in the Defence of it, and pressed it very much, that that matter should be first discoursed upon, thinking to have some Advantage against me in that Point; but the Success proved the contrary, so that his maintaining of it, offended diverse of his Hearers, that soon after they left him, and came over to the Church. I asked him, If they who were in Christ, could possibly fall from that Good State. He said, they might possibly fall from it. I replied, then there is the more Cause of Fear; as they who are in a Castle, yet they have just occasion of Fear, conditionally, lest if they should go out their watchful Enemies should destroy them; and Fear is very useful to them to keep them within. And as God Almighty had indued all living Creatures with a natural Fear, that is of great use to them to preserve their natural Life; so he had indued all his Children with a spiritual Fear, that is as useful and as necessary to them to preserve their spiritual Life. And as Hope is necessary to keep Men from Despair, so Fear is necessary to keep them from Presumption. I mentioned also several Texts of Scripture to him, and desired him to consider them, viz. *Job* 31. 24.<sup>173</sup> *I Cor.* 9. 27.<sup>174</sup> *Heb.* 4. 1.<sup>175</sup> *Rom.* 8. 31.<sup>176</sup> But he continued resolute in his erroneous Opinion. Next we proceeded to discourse about other matters, as, What were their Objections against their Conforming to the Church, and against Infants Baptism? I laboured very much, in Love, to satisfy them about all those matters; but I found they were resolute to keep up their Separate Meeting, tho' it were dwindled away and diminished to a very small Number from what it was at the Beginning, after the \*Separation, about 1692, and which continued several Years, until a Church *England* Congregation was set up at *Philadelphia*; soon after which, most of that Party, both in Town and Countrey, and also in *West* and *East-Jersey*, and some in *New York*, came over with good Zeal, and according to good Knowledge, to the Church, praised be God for it.

I preached at *Philadelphia*, on *Acts.* 26. 22, 23.<sup>177</sup> at the Evening Lecture, after Six at Night.

I preached at *Burlington* in *West-Jersey*, on *Rom.* 10. 7, 8, 9.<sup>178</sup> and Feb. 22. I baptized the Wife of Mr. *Rob. Wheeler*<sup>179</sup> and his three Children, and five others: in all 9 Persons. He and his Wife had been Quakers, but are come over to the Church.

.61.

.62.

February 14.  
Sunday.

February 21.  
Sunday.  
1702.

He did most kindly and hospitably entertain us at his House, gratis, the several times that we travelled too and fro in those Parts: And the like kind and free Entertainment he gives to all Ministers of the Church that travel that way.

February 28.

Sunday.

1702.

\*March 4.

I preached at *Philadelphia* on *Mat. 5. 17.*<sup>180</sup>

\*I had a publick Meeting at *Philadelphia*, at the House that formerly belonged to *Zacharia Whitbane*, to detect the Quakers Errors, by plain Quotations out of their approved Authors, particularly Mr. *Pen's Sandy Foundations*,<sup>181</sup> having before given intimation to the chief Preachers of the Quakers at *Philadelphia*, to defend their Principles and Authors, if they could; but none of them would appear in the Cause. One *William Southsby*,<sup>182</sup> who is a sort of Preacher among them, told the Auditory, he was not come to dispute, but to complain against me, that I had said, he denied the Resurrection; and he came to clear himself, and desired leave to read a short Paper, wherein he gave Account of his Faith of the Resurrection. After he had read this Paper, which contained some Words he had Transcribed out of *I Cor. 15.*<sup>183</sup> and some \*other Texts of Scripture; I asked him, *Did he believe the Resurrection of that Body of his standing before us?* He said, *He would not Answer to that ensnaring Question.* By this it plainly appeared to the Auditory that were not Quakers, that he did not really believe the Resurrection of the Body, even when he seemd to confess it, after the manner of all Hereticks, who profess to give their Faith in Scripture Words, but quite contrary to the true and real sense of the Scripture, as *Arius*,<sup>184</sup> *Sabellius*,<sup>185</sup> *Nestorians*,<sup>186</sup> *Eutyches*,<sup>187</sup> *Pelagius*,<sup>188</sup> &c.

.63.

I Preached at *Philadelphia*, on *Philip. 2. 13.*<sup>180</sup>

March 7.

1702.

Sunday.

\*March 10.

1702.

\*I had a public dispute at *Philadelphia*, with one *William Davis*,<sup>190</sup> who had been formerly a Quaker; but some time after he left them, he set up for a new Sect-Master, to draw Disciples after him, and Published a Book full of Blasphemous Notions, as that there are three Gods; and that none of these three Gods are any where but in Heaven; and that Christ as God, suffered upon the Cross; with diverse other gross Blasphemies; a particular Account of which, I have given in Print, Bound up with other Printed Tracts, which I did present to the Honourable Society.

March 14.

Sunday.

March 21.

S.

March 28.

Sunday.

April 4. S.

I Preached at *Philadelphia* a second Sermon on *Phil. 2. 12, 13.*

I Preached at *Philadelphia*, on *2 Cor. 12. 9.*<sup>191</sup>

I Preached at *Philadelphia* a second Sermon on *2 Cor. 12.9.*

I Preached at *Chester* in *Pensilvania*, on *Titus 2. 11, 12.*<sup>192</sup>

## [IN DELAWARE]

[April 8-11, 1703]

I Preached at *New-Castle*<sup>193</sup> on 1 *Thess.* 5. 19.<sup>194</sup>

I Preached at *New-Castle* on *Jude* 20.<sup>195</sup> Mr. *Talbot*<sup>196</sup> Preached there in the Afternoon, and Baptized three Children of Mr. *James Claypool*<sup>197</sup> (who had been formerly a Quaker) and another Child of a Churchman. And at our return to *New-Castle* from *Vir\*ginia*, I Baptized the said Mr. *James Claypool*, he was much afflicted with a *Palsie*.

*April 8. Th.**April 11.**Sunday.**1703.*

.64.

## [IN VIRGINIA]

[April 18-May 9, 1703]

I Preached at *York Town*,<sup>198</sup> by *York River*,<sup>199</sup> on *Acts* 20. 21.<sup>200</sup>

We arrived at *Williamsburgh*<sup>201</sup> in *Virginia*, (having come by Water in a Sloop, from *New-Castle to York River*.) and were very kindly received there, and entertained by Col. *Nicholson*, then Governour of *Virginia*.

I Preached in *Williamsburgh Church*, before the Convocation of the Clergy then Assembled, on *Joh.* 1. 7.<sup>202</sup>I Preached at *James-Town*<sup>203</sup> on 1 *Joh.* 1. 3.<sup>204</sup> at the request of the Reverend Mr. *Blair* Minister there, and Commissary, who very kindly and Hospitably Entertained us at his House.I Preached at *Kirketan*<sup>205</sup> [error for Kicketan] Church by *James River*, on 2 *Cor.* 3. 18.<sup>206</sup>I Preached there the Thanksgiving Sermon, on *Psal.* 18. 48, 49.<sup>208</sup> the Minister, the Reverend Mr. *Wallis*,<sup>209</sup> being then in *England*.I Preached at a Chappel in *Elizabeth County* in *Virginia*, on *Psal.* 1, 1, 2, 3.<sup>210</sup>We took our Journey from thence to *North Carolina*.<sup>211</sup>*April 18.**1703.**April 20.**1703.**April 21.**Wednesday.**April 25.**Sunday.**May 2.**Sunday.**1703.**May 4.<sup>207</sup>**Tuesday.**May 9.**Sunday.**May 10.*

## [IN NORTH CAROLINA]

[May 16, 1703]

I Preached at the House of Capt. *Sanders* in *Corretuck*<sup>212</sup> in *North-Carolina*, on *Rom.* 1. 16.<sup>213</sup>

We designed to have Travelled further into *North-Carolina*, but there was no Passage from that Place by Land convenient to Travel, by reason of Swamps, and Marishes; and we had no way to go by Water, but in a Canow over a great Bay, many Miles over, which we essayed to do, but the Wind continuing several Days contrary, we returned to *Virginia*.

*May 16.**Whitsunday,**1703.*

## [RETURN TO VIRGINIA]

[May 23-June 27, 1703]

May 23.  
Sunday.  
1703.  
.65.

I Preached at the Church in Princess *Anns*<sup>214</sup> County in *Virginia*, on *Heb. 12. 1.*<sup>215</sup> and I Baptized Eight Chil\*dren there. Mr. *Talbot* Preached the same Day at a Chappel belonging to the same County, and Baptized Ten Children.

The Whole County is but one Parish, and is about Fifty Miles in length; the People are well affected, but they had no Minister, and greatly desire to have one; and as they informed us, the Minister's Salary being paid in Tobacco, (as it is generally all over *Virginia* and *Maryland*) the Tobacco of that County was so low, that it could not maintain him.<sup>216</sup>

May 30.  
Sunday,  
1703.  
June 6.  
Sunday.

The Reverend Mr. *Blair* Commissary, Preached at *Kirketan*, where I was a Hearer, having no occasion that Day to Preach any where in that County.

Mr. *Talbot* Preached at *Kirketan* [error for *Kicketan*], we stayed there about Ten Days, at my Daughters<sup>217</sup> House at *Kirketan* [*Kicketan*] by *James River*; she is fully come off from the Quakers, and is a zealous Member of the Church of *England*, and brings up her Children (so many of them as are capable through Age,) in the Christian Religion, Praised be God for it.

June 13.  
Sunday.

I Preached at the Church of *Abington*,<sup>218</sup> on the *Northside* of *York-River*, the Reverend Mr. *Smith* is Minister there, and did Read the Church Prayers. My Text was *1 Thess. 5. 19.*<sup>219</sup> I lodged at Major *Burrell's*<sup>220</sup> House, and was kindly Entertained. Mr. *Talbot* Preached at *Williamsburgh*.

June 20.  
Sunday.  
June 27.  
Sunday.

I Preached at *Hampton Church*<sup>221</sup> in *Virginia*, on *Jam. 1. 22.*<sup>222</sup>

Mr. *Talbot* Preached at *York-Town* by *York-River*, where I was present with him; we were kindly Entertained there at the Collector's House several Days, waiting for Passage up *Maryland-bay*.<sup>223</sup>

## [IN MARYLAND]

[June 28-July 28, 1703]

.66.  
June 28.  
1703.

\*We sailed in a Sloop from *York-Town*, up *Maryland-bay* to *West-River*; the Master of the Sloop was a Quaker, whose Name is *Thomas Sparrow*. After our landing, he kindly Entertained us at his House that Night, and refused to take any thing either for our Passage or Entertainment at his House. And as to our Provision on Board the Sloop, the Governour of *Virginia* sent us in Plenty. I had much Discourse and Reasoning with the said *Thomas Sparrow*, both aboard the Sloop, and at his House, especially about Baptism and the Lord's-Supper,

but he used the same evasions to the Texts of Scripture I brought for them, as the Quakers commonly use.

We came to *Annapolis*<sup>224</sup> in *Maryland*, where we were kindly received and Entertained by Esquire *Finch*,<sup>225</sup> then President of *Maryland*, and Sir *Thomas Lawrence*<sup>226</sup> the Secretary there.

I Preached at *Annapolis*, on 1 *Thess.* 1. 5.<sup>227</sup> and had a large Auditory well affected; my Sermon at the request of a worthy Person who heard it, was Printed at *Annapolis*,<sup>228</sup> mostly at his Charge; and copies of it sent by him, to many parts of the Country. It is Bound up with other Printed Sermons and Tracts, in the Book abovementioned, which I Presented to the Honourable Society, soon after my arrival into *England*.

At the desire of some Persons of best Note in that part of *Maryland*, I went to the Quakers Meeting at Herring-Creek in *Maryland*, to have some friendly Conference with them. The aforesaid Esquire *Finch*, Sir *Thomas Lawrence*, and several Justices of the Peace, and many Persons of good Note, came along with me to the Quakers Meeting there, and also the Reverend Mr. *Hall*, the Minister of the Parish, and diverse other Ministers of the neighbouring Parishes. While the Quakers were all silent; after some time, I stood up to speak among them, intending a brief Discourse \*on *Joh.* 7. 38, 39.<sup>229</sup> I had spoke but a very few Sentences, when they interrupted me very rudely; and notwithstanding the kind and gentle Entreaty of Esquire *Finch* and some others there present of their kind Neighbours, praying them to hear me, by no means would the Quakers suffer me to proceed in my Discourse. They told the Auditory, I was none of them, and they had disowned me. I asked them for what? But they would give no Reason for their so doing. One of them stood up, and accused Mr. *Hall*<sup>230</sup> the Minister of the Parish, and also the Sheriff, of Theft; And being inquired what the Theft was, whereof he accused them. He answered, that the Sheriff had given some Tobacco of his, to the said . . . *Hall*, which was none of his. The Case was this. The Sheriff having a quantity of Tobacco belonging to this Quaker in his Custody, as is usual in that Country. The Sheriff, in Kindness and good Neighbourhood to the said Quaker, rather than to distrein upon him, according to the Law, paid to Mr. *Hall* so much out of the Quakers Tobacco, as was due to Mr. *Hall* by the said Quaker, by an Act of the general Assembly, and confirmed by the Queen. And when some present said to him, his calling it Theft, reflected on the general Assembly, he still persisted in it, that it was Theft. I did again offer to Speak, but they did interrupt me again, and abused me with reviling Speeches in meer Generals, as the manner generally of the Quakers is, to all who Endeavour to reform them from their Errors, and especially to any who with a good Conscience upon Divine Conviction, have forsaken their Erroneous ways, to whom they are most outrageous, as the *Jews* were to St. *Paul*, after his Conversion to Chris-

July 1.  
1703.

July 4.  
Sunday.

July 7.  
1703.

.67.



.68.

tianity. The aforesaid Persons, my worthy Friends, who came with me to the Quakers Meeting, finding that the Quakers \*would give me no hearing in their Meeting, desired me to Preach to them my Sermon which I had begun upon, (but was interrupted by the Quakers) at a Chappel very near to the Quakers Meeting, where they would gladly hear me before they went away, on that Subject, to which I readily agreed. Mr. Hall the Minister of the Parish did begin with the Church Prayers, and after the Prayers, I Preached my Sermon to them, in the said Chappel (where was a great Auditory of both Men and Women) the same in Matter, as near as I could, which I had designed to deliver in the Quakers Meeting; for I made no use of Notes at that time, knowing that if I had used Notes, the Quakers would have made the greater exceptions, and have said, I was only a Minister of the Letter, as their manner is to object against them, who make use of Notes; and I doubted not but that God would assist me, to deliver what was proper and Edifying, though I had no Notes at that Time. Though I oft made use of Notes in my Sermons which I Preached, and continue to do, and I do well approve of it.

.69.

The Matter which I mainly insisted upon, in my Discourse on that Text, *Joh. 7. 38, 39.*<sup>281</sup> was, that though we had no Warrant from this, or any other place of Holy Scripture, to expect those Miraculous and extraordinary Inspirations of the Spirit given to the Apostles, which enabled them to Preach without Study, and to Speak with Tongues they had not learned by Industry, yet we had sufficient ground from many Texts of Holy Scripture, to believe, that God continues to give to all the Faithful, such plentiful Inspirations, Influences, and Assistances of his Holy Spirit, as are necessary to their Sanctification, and to their continual Growth and Progress therein, and to enable them to serve him acceptably, and comfortably, in all Duties \*of Holiness and Righteousness, and especially to assist them in their Prayers and Thanksgivings to Almighty God, in the due Use of the Means of Grace; and to assist the Ministers of his Word, in their Preaching and Praying, and in all other Parts of their Ministerial Calling.

And I shewed, that the Ministers and People of the Church of *England*, had a better Belief, Trust, and Hope of the inward Assistances of the Holy Spirit, than the Quakers had, notwithstanding the Quakers proud and presumptuous Affirmations and Pretensions to the Spirit above others. For (said I) the Quakers, and the Quaker Preachers, have such a Distrust of the Spirit's Assistance to pray, or give Thanks vocally, that they think, or pretend, they oft have it not: and for that Reason given by them, they oft neither pray in their Families, nor at their Meals. And for want of the Spirits Motion and Assistance, as they pretend and profess, so as to enable them, either to Preach or Pray in audible Words, they used to have many silent Meetings, where one Word is not uttered among them from first to last; and in

many Places they have them still. And it is certain, that generally in the Quakers Families, there is no vocal Prayer used at all, and rarely, even in their Preachers Families. But none of them use constant Prayer in their Families, either twice or once a Day, that ever I heard of, and some not once in a Year, in the Family, whatever they do in their Publick Meetings for Ostentation. The Reason of this Omission, which they think not to be any Sin, is, that the Spirit doth not move or assist them. But what Spirit is that, but a Spirit of Ostentation and Vain-Glory, that moves them so frequently to pray in their Publick Meetings, and so rarely, not once in a Year, in their Families? Now whence doth this proceed, \*that they pray so seldom in their Families and in some of their Meetings, but either from their great Distrust, (as is said) or from a political Contrivance of their first Authors, the more to make their Proselytes believe, they waited for some extraordinary Inspiration and Impulse: For they had wont to say, *That they who could pray or preach at set Times, have not the true Gift of Prayer or Preaching.* And yet it is sufficiently known, that many of them are arrived at that Confidence, to preach and pray in their way of Rapsody, at any time, in their Meetings; and they have their ordinary Set-times, especially at *London*, when to begin and when to end; so that if any of their Preachers happen to transgress the ordinary time, they oft get some Reprimand. Such of them who had not arrived at this Confidence and Conceit of their Ability, to preach or pray at any time, except when the Spirit moves them, I compared them to a Mill that stands by a small Brook, or Run of water, that has oft so little Water as cannot make the Wheels of the Mill to go, till there come afresh, they know not when.

.70.

Whereas, the Faithful of the Church of *England*, both Ministers and People, and in all true Christian Churches, have no such Distrust of the Assistance of the blessed Spirit of God, but believe that blessed Spirit will never be wanting to them, to give them his Assistance in some Measure and Degree, more or less, according to his good Pleasure; sufficient to enable them to perform all requisite Duties unto God acceptably.

Another thing I insisted upon from the Words of the Text, was, That these inward Aids and Assistances of the Holy Spirit given to the Faithful, were only promised to them who believed sincerely in Jesus Christ, both God and Man, who is now in Heaven without \*us, our blessed Mediator and Intercessor with the Father; and who believe that he is to come in his Glorified Body, the same in Substance he had on Earth, (in which he suffered Death for our Sins) to be the Judge both of the Quick and Dead, at his Coming and Appearing visibly without us, as really as he visibly ascended into Heaven, in the Sight of his Disciples. And that therefore the Quakers who generally have not this Belief in Jesus Christ, as above declared, (as hath been fully and evidently proved, and can still be proved out of the printed Books of their noted Authors). But instead of the true

.71.

Christian Faith in Jesus Christ (according as the Holy Scripture hath set him forth) have set up a Belief only in the Light within them, as the said Light is in all Men. These, I say, can lay no Claim to any such Assistances of the Holy Spirit, as are only promised to sincere Believers in Jesus Christ, according to the Words of the Text, *Joh. 7. 38, 39.*<sup>232</sup> *He that believes in me, out of his Belly shall flow Rivers of living Water. But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive,* (to wit, that very Man which they both saw with their outward Eyes, and heard with their outward Ears) who, as he was visible as Man, yet was invisible as he was God: And that it is said in the following Words, *The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified:* that is, He was not given, until after His Ascension, either in that Plenty and Variety of miraculous Gifts, or in that Plenty and large Measure of the ordinary Gifts and Graces of the Spirit, as were afterwards to be given to the Faithful after his Ascension.

July 10.  
Saturday.

I preached at *Herring-Creek Church*, at the Request of Mr. *Hall* the Minister, on the two Sacraments, my Text was, *1 Cor. 12, 13.*<sup>233</sup>

.72.

\*I preached at Mr. *Colback's*<sup>234</sup> Church in the next Parish, a second Sermon on *Joh. 7. 38, 39.*<sup>235</sup>

July 11.

Sunday.

July 14.

I crossed *Maryland-Bay*, over to the Eastern Shore, accompanied with Mr. *Hall* abovementioned, from *Annapolis* to *Kent-Island*: We had a fair and easie Passage, in the Space of three Hours. Mr. *Talbot* had gone up the Western Shore to preach at several Places on that side, and after some time to come to me.

July 15.

We travelled from *Kent-Island* to the House of the Reverend Mr. *Lilington*,<sup>236</sup> where we were kindly entertained some Days.

July 18.

Sunday.

July 21.

Wednesday

I preached at Mr. *Lilington's* Church in *Talbot-County*, on *Eph. 2. 10.*<sup>237</sup> and had a great Auditory, and well affected.

I preached at Mr. *Bourdly's*<sup>238</sup> Church, on *Rom. 10. 7, 8, 9.*<sup>239</sup> and had a great Auditory, and were kindly entertained at his House.

July 25.

Sunday,

1703.

I preached at the Church of *Shrewsbury* in *Maryland*, on *1 Cor. 3. 11, 12.*<sup>240</sup> where was a large Auditory out of diverse Parishes: But that Parish of *Shrewsbury* had no Minister, nor have had for some considerable Time past. We were kindly entertained by Mr. *Blays*<sup>241</sup> at his House in that Parish, some Days. On *Sunday* in the Evening, I had some Discourse with a Quaker who came from *London* and sold Goods to the Planters, for Tobacco. I found him so extream ignorant, that I could not perswade him, that our Blessed Saviour, as he was *Man*, had a created Soul. I asked him, If he himself had a created Soul? This also he denied. I mentioned that place of Scripture to him, *The Soul that Sinneth shall die.*<sup>242</sup> And could a Soul sin, that was not created? If the Soul of *Man* be not created, it must be God, and God could not Sin. But no Reasons

can prevail with them, however so plain, who are given up to strong Delusion, as indeed they too generally are. This Discourse I had with him in the hearing of another Quaker, who came with him, at the House of Mr. Blay, who was present.

.73.

I crossed *Sasafrax-River* (Mr. Hall having gone home) and came that Day to the Reverend Mr. Sewils,<sup>245</sup> Minister of *Cecil-County* in *Maryland*, where Mr. Talbot came to me. Mr. Sewil kindly entertained us at his House, and accompanied us to the Mannor, by *Bohemia River*, where we lodged, and were kindly entertained by the Master of the House, who was a German.

July 28.

## [RETURN TO DELAWARE]

[July 29-August 1, 1703]

We came from thence to *New-Castle*, by *Delaware-River*, and were kindly entertained at the House of Mr. Robert French,<sup>244</sup> some Days.

July 29.

I preached at *New-Castle* on *Heb. 5. 9.*<sup>245</sup> and had a large Auditory of *English*, and some *Dutch*: They have had a Church lately built, and the Reverend Mr. Rosse,<sup>246</sup> a Missionary from the Honourable Society, has been sent to them, which they greatly desired.

August 1.  
1703.  
Sunday.

## [RETURN TO PHILADELPHIA AND VICINITY]

[August 2-September 21, 1703]

I came to *Upland*, alias *Chester*, by *Delaware-River*, Mr. Talbot having gone before to preach there, *August 1.*

August 2.

I preached in the Church at *Chester*, a second Sermon on *Titus, 2. 11, 12, 13, 14.*<sup>247</sup> and had a considerable Auditory: we were kindly entertained at the House of Mr. Jasper Yeates<sup>248</sup> there.

August 3.  
Tuesday.

We came from *Chester* to *Philadelphia*, where we were kindly received and entertained by our Friends, and especially by Mistress Welch, at whose House we again lodged as formerly.

August 4.

Mr. Talbot preached in the Forenoon at *Philadelphia*, and I preached there in the Afternoon, on *2. Cor. 12. 9.*<sup>249</sup>

August 8.  
Aug. 15.  
Sunday.

I preached at *Philadelphia* on *1 Joh. 5. 3.*<sup>250</sup>

August 22.  
Sunday.

I preached at the New Church at *Burlington*, on *2 Sam. 23. 3, 4.*<sup>251</sup> My Lord Cornbury was present and many Gentlemen who accompanied him, both from *New-York* and the two *Jerseys*, having had his Commission to be Governour of *West* and *East-Jersey*, Read at the Town House there, some Days before. It was the first Sermon that was Preached in that Church.

.74.

August 29.

Sunday.

Sept. 5.<sup>253</sup>

Sunday.

Sept. 12.

Sunday.

Sept. 15.

Sept. 19.

Sunday.

Sept. 21

Tuesday.

Sept. 21.

Tuesday.

.75.

I preached again at the Church in *Burlington*, on *Jam.*  
1. 22.<sup>252</sup>

I preached at *Philadelphia*, on *Acts* 2. 41, 42.<sup>254</sup> being Sacra-  
ment Day.

I preached at the Church in *Burlington*, a Second Sermon,  
on *Jam.* 1. 22. Mr. *Talbot* preached that Day at *Chester* in *Pen-*  
*sylvania*.

I preached at *Will. Hewlins*<sup>255</sup> in *West-Jersey*, on *Tit.*  
2. 11.<sup>256</sup>

I preached at *Philadelphia* in the Afternoon, on *Mat.* 16.  
6.<sup>257</sup>

I preached at *Philadelphia* on *Jude* 3.<sup>258</sup> This Week being  
the time of the Quakers yearly Meeting at *Philadelphia*, the  
Minister of *Philadelphia*, the Reverend Mr. *Evans*, with the con-  
sent of the Vestry, having agreed together with us, to have both  
Prayers and Sermons at the Church in *Philadelphia*, all the Days  
that the Quakers had their Meetings in that Week, which use  
to continue Three Days; there happens commonly in that Week  
to be a great concourse of People at *Philadelphia*, not only  
Quakers, but also of many others, as at some great Fair.

Mr. *Talbot* went to the Quakers Meeting at *Philadelphia*,  
that met at the New Meeting-House, called, the *Banck-Meeting*,  
about 9 of the Forenoon, and began to read a Paper to them  
which I had Writ, containing some Observations on the Attesta-  
tion, taken and Signed by some of the most noted Quakers in  
*West-Jersey*, in order to their being made Members of the Coun-  
cil in the Province of *West*, and *East-Jersey*. \*The Quakers  
were so rude, that they pushed him on the Breast, and drove  
him by violence from the threshold of the Door, where he stood;  
yet he continued Reading, till he had finished it; but by the  
Tumult that Quakers raised he was little heard. After which,  
I went in to their Meeting-House, and stood up on a Bench  
to Read it in their hearing within doors, but I had scarce read  
three Lines, till a Quaker, whose Name I spare, pulled it out of  
my Hand with great violence, and some of them overturned the  
Bench I stood upon, but I had no hurt, Praised be God; for as I  
was falling, some that were not Quakers supported me with their  
shoulders till my Feet gently touched the Ground; another Per-  
son that was no Quaker, pulling the said Paper out of the  
Quakers hand, it was torn in two pieces betwixt them; but by  
the order of a Justice of Peace, who was no Quaker, the Quaker  
returned to me that torn piece of the Paper which he had kept.  
Of this Rude and Disorderly Carriage of the Quakers at the said  
Place, the said Day, diverse Persons of good Credit gave an  
Affidavit before a Justice of Peace at *Philadelphia*. I need not  
here recite the Contents of my Observations on these Quakers  
Attestation, for the like Observations have been made by another  
hand, and published in Print lately, in these *American* parts,  
and perhaps may be Reprinted at *London* ere long.

## [RETURN TO WEST AND EAST JERSEY]

[September 26-November 4, 1703]

- I preached in *Burlington Church*, a third Sermon, on *Jam. 1. 22.*<sup>269</sup> in the Forenoon, and Mr. *Talbot* in the Afternoon. *Sept. 26. Sunday.*
- I preached in *Burlington Church*, on *Heb. 8. 10, 11, 12.*<sup>269</sup> both Forenoon, and Afternoon, and read the Prayers before Sermon. *Octob. 3. Sunday.*
- \*I preached at *Toponemes in Freehold in East-Jersey*, on *Acts 2. 41, 42.*<sup>261</sup> and had a considerable Auditory, diverse of them late Converts from Quakerism to the Church. Mr. *Innesse* abovementioned did read the Prayers. Mr. *Talbot* staid to Preach in several places in *Pensilvania*, and *West-Jersey*, for some time. *.76. October 10. Sunday 1703.*
- I preached at *Shrewsbury* near the Quakers Meeting there, on *Psal. 103. 17, 18.*<sup>262</sup> *Octob. 17. Sunday.*
- I preached again there, on *Heb. 8. 10, 11.*<sup>263</sup> And Mr. *Innesse* Baptized two Men and a Child. *Octob. 24. Sunday.*
- I preached at *Amboy in East-Jersey*, on *Titus 2. 11, 12, 13, 14.*<sup>264</sup> *Octob. 31. Sunday.*
- I preached at *And. Craig's*<sup>265</sup> in the Township of *Elizabeth Town*, on *2 Pet. 1. 5.*<sup>266</sup> and Baptized his Four Children. *November 3.*
- I Baptized the Children of *Andrew Hanson*<sup>267</sup> [error for *Hamton*] Eight in Number; He and his Wife are come over from Quakerism to the Church. And *November 3.* I Baptized Seven Children of a Widow-Woman there. *November 4.*

## [THIRD VISIT TO NEW YORK AND LONG ISLAND]

[November 7-December 5, 1703]

- I preached at *New York*, on *Acts 2. 42.*<sup>268</sup> and that Sermon was soon after Printed at *New-York*, at the desire of some who heard it, and did contribute to the Charge of its Printing. *November 7. Sunday.*
- I preached at *Jamaica on Long-Island*, on *Heb. 8. 9, 10.*<sup>269</sup> *November 14. Sunday.*
- I preached at *Oysterbay on Long-Island*, on *Jude 20, 21.*<sup>270</sup> And *Novemb. 19.* there I Baptized Mrs. *White*, Wife to Mr. *Edward White*, and all his Children, viz. three Sons and five Daughters. He and his Wife were formerly Quakers, but are come over to the Church. And the same Day I Baptized Mrs. *Jones*,<sup>271</sup> Wife to Captain *Jones* of that Township. *November 17. Wednesday.*
- At *Oysterbay*, I Baptized *John Tounsens*,<sup>272</sup> a Justice of Peace, and his three Children. And Mr. *Nathanael \*Cole*,<sup>273</sup> and his Wife, and his three Children. There had scarce been any Profession of the Christian Religion among the People of that Town; they had scarce any Notion of Religion but Quakerism: the Quakers had formerly a Meeting there, but many of *November 20. Saturday. .77.*



them who lived in that Town, became Followers of *Thomas Case* [error for *Chase*] (not the *Thomas Case* [Chase] of *Hampton* in *New-England* abovementioned) and were called, *Case's* [Chase's] *Crew*, who set up a new sort of Quakerism, and among other Vile Principles, they condemned Marriage, and said, it was of the Devil, perverting that Text of Scripture, *The Children of the Resurrection, neither Marry, nor are given in Marriage*;<sup>274</sup> and they said they were the Children of the Resurrection; and indeed, as the Author of the *Snake in the Grass* has well observed; This Mad sort of Quakers, called *Case's* [Chase's] *Crew*, did but consequentially practice, what the followers of *George Fox* held very generally in Principle, viz. that they were come already to the Resurrection, and had their vile Bodies already changed; so *George Fox* has expressly Taught in Print, in a Printed Treatise of his about the Supper, where he will have the Lord's Supper now to be only inward.

November 21.  
Sunday.

I preached at *Hampsted Church* on *Long-Island*, on 1 *Pet.* 2. 9.<sup>275</sup> and Lodged that Night at *Isaac Smith's* House,<sup>276</sup> Four Miles distant from the Church, and there I Baptized a Young-Woman of his Family, and a Boy, and a Girl of his Relations, and a Neighbours Child, a Boy. This *Isaac Smith* has been formerly a Quaker, and was scarce then fully come off, but came and heard me Preach, and was well affected, and did kindly Entertain me.

November 28.  
Sunday.  
.78.

I preached at *New-York* on 1 *Cor.* 12. 13.<sup>277</sup> and that Sermon also was Printed at *New-York*, at the desire of some who heard it, and contributed to the Charge of \*Printing it; and by the Blessing of God, both these printed Sermons have been serviceable to many in these *American* Parts, and to some also in *England*, to reclaim them from their erroneous Opinions about the two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's-Supper.

December 5.  
Sund. 1703.

I preached at *New-York*, on *John* 12. 35, 36.<sup>278</sup>

#### [FOURTH VISIT TO NEW JERSEY]

[December 12, 1703-February 13, 1703/04]

\*Decemb. 12.  
Sunday.

\*I preached at *Amboy*, at my Lord *Cornbury's* Lodging, where he was present, and many with him. My Text was *John* 12. 35, 36.<sup>279</sup>

December 19.  
Sunday.

I preached at the House of Col. *Tomfley*<sup>280</sup> [error for *Tounsley*] in *Elizabeth-Town*, both Forenoon and Afternoon, on 1 *Pet.* 2. 9.<sup>281</sup> Many of that Town having been formerly a sort of Independents, are become well affected to the Church of *England*, and desire to have a Minister of the Church of *England* sent to them: There I baptized a Child of Mr. *Shakmaple*.<sup>282</sup>

December 25.  
Christmas-day.

I preached at *Amboy* in *East-Jersey*, on 1 *Tim.* 3. 16.<sup>283</sup>

(a) Mr. Talbot preached there on *Psal.* 125.<sup>284</sup> and baptized a Young Man, called *John Brown*,<sup>285</sup> who had a Quaker Education, and a Young Woman.

I preached at Capt. *Bishops*<sup>286</sup> by *Ravai-River* in *East-Jersey*, on *Jude* 20. and baptized a Child of *Robert Wright*.<sup>287</sup>

I preached at the Independents Meeting-House in *Wood-bridge*, at the Desire of Mr. *Shepherd*,<sup>288</sup> and some others there, on 1 *Tim* 3. 16.<sup>289</sup> After Sermon Mr. *Shepherd* kindly entertained us at his House.

I preached at *Piscataway* in *East-Jersey*, on *Rom.* 10. 6, 7, 8, 9.<sup>290</sup>

I preached at *Amboy* on *Heb.* 8. 10, 11.<sup>291</sup>

(b) I preached at the House of Dr. *Johnston* on *Nether-sinks*, on *Psal.* 119. v. 113.<sup>292</sup> and had a considerable Auditory.

I preached at Mr. *Morris* House at the *Falls of Shrewsbury* in *East-Jersey*, on 2 *Cor.* 5. 17.<sup>293</sup>

\*I preached again at Mr. *Morris* House on 2 *Pet.* 1. 5.<sup>294</sup>

(c) I preached at the House of Mr. *Thomas Boels* in *Freehold* in *East-Jersey*, on 1 *Cor.* 15. 58.<sup>295</sup>

I preached at the House of Mr. *John Read* in *Freehold* in *East-Jersey*, on *Psal.* 119. 96.<sup>296</sup>

I preached at *Burlington Church* in *West-Jersey*, on 1 *Cor.* 15. 58.

(a) Decem 26. Sunday.

December 21. 1703.

December 29. Wednesday.

December 30. Thursday.

January 2. Sunday.

(b) January 9. Sunday.

January 16. Sunday.

.79.

January 23. Sunday.

(c) January 30. Sunday

February 6. Sunday.

February 13. Sunday.

#### [LAST SIX WEEKS IN AND ABOUT PHILADELPHIA]

[February 20, 1703/04-April 9, 1704]

I preached at *Philadelphia* both Forenoon and Afternoon, on *Psal.* 119. 96, 97.

I preached at *Trinity-Chappel* at *Franckfort* (alias *Oxford*)<sup>297</sup> in Pensilvania, on 1 *John* 2. 24.<sup>298</sup> As I returned from *Franckfort* to *Philadelphia*, that very Day, about the 4th Hour in the Afternoon, being *Sunday*, both I and those in company with me, observed that a Corn-Mill belonging to some Quakers was Grinding, which they told me, is very common there.

I preached at *Philadelphia*, on *Luke* 2. 29, 30, 31, 32.<sup>299</sup> in the afternoon.

I preached at *Philadelphia* on 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2.<sup>300</sup>

I preached at *Trinity-Chappel* at *Franckfort*, on 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2.

I preached at *Philadelphia* a second Sermon on 1 *Tim.* 2. 2, 3.<sup>301</sup>

I preached both Forenoon and Afternoon, at *Burlington Church*, on 1 *Cor.* 15. 58.<sup>302</sup> two other Sermons, being my last I preached there.

I preached at *Philadelphia* on *John* 4. 24.<sup>303</sup> being my last Sermon I preached there.

February 20. Sunday.

February 27. Sund. 1703.

March 5. Sunday 1703.

March 12. Sunday.

March 16. Thursday.

March 19. Sunday.

March 26. Sunday. 1704.

April 2. Sunday. 1704.

After my Return from *East-Jersey* to *Philadelphia*, about the Middle of February, 1703. for the Space of Six Weeks, I remained mostly at *Philadelphia*, and was very kindly and hospitably entertained by Mr. *Joshua Carpenter*,<sup>304</sup> at his House, where I lodged all that time, until I began my Journey from *Philadelphia* towards *Virginia*, to take Passage for my Return to *England*. \*Mrs. *Welch*, with whom I lodged formerly, having been Sick and Weak all that time; but some time after it pleased God to restore her to Health.

During the most part of Winter, in the Year 1703. Mr. *Talbot*, by my free Consent, did travel in diverse other Parts in *Pensilvania*, *West* and *East-Jersey*, Preaching and Baptizing many in those Parts where I was not with him.<sup>305</sup> For the greater Service of God and his Church, we did oft travel separately, (being still one in Heart and Affection) and I had very good Friends that travelled with me in his Absence, to accompany me from place to place, in all those places where I travelled.

I preached at *Chester Church* in *Pensilvania*, on *John* 4. 24.<sup>306</sup> being my last Sermon there.

April 9.  
Sunday.

## [SECOND AND LAST JOURNEY SOUTH]

[April 10-June 4, 1704]

April 12.  
Wednesday.  
(d) April 16.  
Easter-Sund.  
April 23.  
Sunday.

I preached at *Newcastle*, on *Jude* 20.<sup>307</sup>

(d) Mr. *Talbot* preached at Mr. *Bourdly's* Church in *Maryland*, where I had preached before *July* 21. 1703.

I preached at *Annapolis* in *Maryland*, Col. *Seamour*<sup>308</sup> Governour of *Maryland*, being present, who very kindly entertained us at his House both then and at other times, during our Abode there, as we waited for Passage down *Maryland-Bay* to *James-River* in *Virginia*.

Mr. *Talbot* accompanied me from *Philadelphia* to *Annapolis* in *Maryland*, where with true Love and Affection, we did take our Farewel of one another, and he returned to serve God and his Church, as formerly, especially in *Pensilvania*, *West* and *East-Jersey*, where he was like to have the greatest Service and Success; and some time ago, the Right Reverend *Henry*, Lord Bishop of *London*,<sup>309</sup> has writ to him to fix at *Burlington*, to be Minister of the Church there, where is now a large Congregation; and where, not long ago, there was little else but Quakerism or Heathenism.

.81.  
Apr. 26.  
1704.

\*I sailed down *Maryland-Bay* to *Virginia*, in Captain *Pulman's* Ship, who very kindly entertained me and Mr. *John Barclay*, my good Friend with me: He, in true Love and Affection, travelled with me from his dwelling House at *Amboy* in *East-Jersey*, to *James-River* in *Virginia*, and he staid with me until he saw me aboard the Ship, *June* 8, where we took our Farwel.

We arrived at Kirketan [error for "Kicketan"] by *James-River* and staid some Days at the House of my Son in Law<sup>310</sup> there.

May 2, 1704.

I preached at *Williamsburgh Church* in *Virginia*, on 1 Tim. 2. 3, 4.<sup>311</sup> Col. *Nicolson*, then Governour of *Virginia*, being present, who kindly entertained us.

May 7. Sund.

I heard Mr. *Grace*<sup>312</sup> preach in *Kirketan* [*Kicketan*] Church on *Luke* 23. 43.<sup>313</sup>

May 14.

Sunday.

I preached at *Kirketan* [*Kicketan*] on *Acts* 20. 21.<sup>314</sup>

May 21.

Sunday.

(e) I preached in the Queen's Ship, called, *Dread-Nought*, Capt. *Evans* Commodore to the *Virginia Fleet* bound for *England*.

(e) May 28.

Sunday.

I preached again in the Commodore-Ship, on *Joh.* 16. 7..<sup>315</sup>

June 4. Whit-

sunday.

### [EMBARKATION AND ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND]

[June 8-August 6, 1704]

I came aboard the Commodore, and was kindly and generously entertained by Capt. *Evans* at his Table, all the Voyage, gratis, and I lodged (near to him) in the great Cabin.<sup>316</sup>

June 8.

We arrived safe at the *Downs*, praised be God our Pre-server.

August 6.

1704.

Having taken my Leave of Captain *Evans* at the *Downs*, I came aboard a Merchant-Ship, whose Commander was Captain *James Thomas*, and sailed in his Ship until we arrived into the *Thames*, about ten miles from *London*, being kindly entertained by him: And that Evening being the 14th of *August*, I came to my Family in *London*, notwithstanding of the false Prophecy of some of the Quakers, That I should never see *England any more, after my Departure out* [of] it, in *April*, \*1702. The abovementioned Captain *James Thomas*, my good Friend, some Years ago came off from Quakerism (wherein he was educated) and his Wife also, and are come over to the Church. He was baptized above three Years ago, by the Reverend Mr. *Stubs*, in *St. Alphage Church* by *Zion-College*, whereof he is Minister; to whose Baptism I was one of the Witnesses.

August 6.

.82.

### [KEITH'S APPRAISAL OF HIS TWO YEARS' MISSIONARY TRAVEL]

Thus I have given an entire Journal of my two Years Missionary Travel and Service, on the Continent of *North-America*, betwixt *Piscataway-River* in *New-England*, and *Coretuck* in *North Carolina*; of extent in Length about Eight hundred Miles; within which Bounds are Ten distinct Colonies and Govern-

ments, all under the Crown of England, viz. *Piscataway, Boston, Rhod-Island, Connecticut, New-York, East and West-Jersey, Pensilvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North-Carolina.*

I travelled twice over most of those Governments and Colonies, and I preached oft in many of them particularly in *Pensilvania, West and East-Jersey, and New-York* Provinces, where we continued longest, and found the greatest Occasion for our Service.

As concerning the Success of me [error for "my"], and my Fellow-Labourer Mr. *John Talbot's* Ministry, in the Places where we travelled, I shall not say much; yet it is necessary that something be said, to the Glory of God alone, to whom it belongs, and to the Encouragement of others, who may hereafter be employed in the like Service.

In all the places where we travelled and preached, we found the People generally well affected to the Doctrine that we preached among them, and they did generally join with us decently in the Liturgy, and Publick Prayers, and Administration of the Holy Sacraments, after the Usage of the Church of *England*, as we had Occasion to use them.

.83.

\*And where Ministers were wanting (as there were wanting in many Places) the People earnestly desired us to present their Request to the *Honourable Society*, to send Ministers unto them, which accordingly I have done; and in answer to their Request, the Society has sent to such Places as seemed most to want, a considerable Number of Missionaries.

Beside the general Success we had, (praised be God for it) both in our Preaching, and much and frequent Conference with People of diverse Perswasions, many of which had been wholly strangers to the way of the Church of *England*; who, after they had observed it in the Publick Prayers, and reading the Lessons out of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and the Manner of the Administration of Baptism, and the Lord's-Supper, were greatly affected with it, and some of which declared their great Satisfaction and the Esteem they had of the Solemn and edifying manner of our Worship and Administration, far above whatever they could observe in other Ways of Worship known to them.

To many, our Ministry was as the sowing the Seed and Planting, who, probably, never so much as heard one orthodox Sermon preached to them, before we came and preached among them, who received the Word with Joy; and of whom we have good Hope, that they will be as the good Ground, *That bringeth forth Fruit, some Thirty, some Sixty, and some an Hundred Fold.*<sup>217</sup> And to many others it was a Watering to what had been formerly Sown and Planted among them; some of the good Fruit whereof we did observe, to the Glory of God, and our great Comfort, while we were with them, even such Fruits of true Piety and good Lives, and sober and righteous Living, as prove the Trees to be good from which they did proceed.

\*Many or most of those who had born the Name of *Separatist Quakers* (for their leaving the Meetings of the Quakers, because of their Opposition to the great Fundamentals of the Christian Faith, and had embraced the Doctrine they heard preached by me, concerning the Way of Salvation by Faith in Jesus Christ, both God and Man, as he outwardly came in the Flesh, died for our Sins, and rose again, &c. about the Years 1691 and 1692, and had set up distinct Meetings,) we found had joined with the Church of *England* Congregation at *Philadelphia*, before our Arrival, when we came among them; they received us with great Joy and Satisfaction to hear us preach what tended to their farther Confirmation in the Christian Faith, and in Communion with the Church of *England*. And they expressed the great Benefit they had received by my several Epistles I wrote to them from *London*, about the Years 1698 and 1699, to answer the Scruples and Objections some of them had made to me in some of their Letters, against joining with the Church of *England*, which they told me, gave them great Satisfaction, by the Blessing of God, to join with the Church, and with which they joined soon after. And the like Service my Epistles did to others of their Friends, in *East* and *West-Jersey*, and other Parts of that Country, to whom they had imparted them, at my Desire.

The Reverend Mr. *Evan Evans*, the Minister of the Church of *England* Congregation at *Philadelphia*, informed me, that (beside the considerable Number of Converts to the Church from Quakerism, that the former Minister, the Reverend Mr. *Claiton*<sup>218</sup> had baptized) by his account, since he was Minister there, he had baptized of Men, Women, and Children, in *Pensylvania* and *West-Jersey*, of *English* and *Welsh*, about Five hundred; many, or most of them, having been Quakers, and the Chil\*dren of Quakers, and Quakerly affected; and beside these, many who had left Quakerism, and had joined to the Church, had been baptized in Infancy, not having been born of Quaker Parents.

Since our Arrival into those *American* Parts, by the Blessing of God upon our Labours among them, in *Pensylvania*, *West* and *East-Jersey*, and *New-York* Province, there have been, by modest Computation, at least two hundred Persons baptized of Quakers, and their Children, and Servants, and of such who were Quakerly affected, by Mr. *Talbot*, and Mr. *Evans*, and by me, and some by the Reverend Mr. *Vesey*, Minister of *New-York*, in that Town. And beside these, many who had been baptized in Infancy, have come off from Quakerism and joined to the Church in these Countries, since we travelled and preached among them, and had much Conference with diverse of them in private from House to House. Diverse also of Dissenters formerly disaffected to the Church, who were not Quakers, are become well affected to the Church, and her Publick way of Worship, and Administration of the holy Sacraments, as well as to

.84.

.85.



the Truth of Her Doctrine, since our Labouring among them, both in *East and West Jersey*, and else where; so that, God be Praised, almost in all these Countries where we Travelled and Laboured, in some of which there was little to be observed but Quakerism, or Heathenism, which are much one, (and if we may believe some of the Quakers great Authors, they are altogether one, viz. the Religion of the Quakers, and of such Heathens, who were obedient to the Light within them, but without all Faith, and Knowledge of Christ, as he came in the Flesh.) I say, in all these Countries almost, by the Blessing of God on our Labours, there are good materials prepared for the Building of Churches, of liv\*ing Stones, as soon as, by the good Providence of God, Ministers shall be sent among them, who have the discretion and due qualifications requisite to Build with them. The Truth of which some of the late Missionaries have found, to their great Comfort, who, as soon as they Arrived into these Parts, unto which they were sent, did find a People prepared to receive them; so that what others had Sown before them, they have Reaped, and I hope will more abundantly Reap.

.86.

In *Pensilvania*, where there was but one Church of *England* Congregation settled, to wit, at *Philadelphia*, (and even that but of few Years standing) at our Arrival there; there are now, Blessed be God, Five Church of *England* Congregations supplied with Ministers,<sup>310</sup> and who have convenient Churches, where the People assemble constantly every Lord's Day to the Prayers and Sermons, and where the Holy Sacraments are duly Administred, according to the Church of *England*. The places in *Pensilvania*, where these Churches are set up, are, the first, *Philadelphia*, the second *Chester* or *Upland*, the third *Franckfort* alias *Oxford*, the fourth *New-Castle*, the fifth *Apoquinene*.

At *Philadelphia*, they have Prayers in the Church, not only on the Lord's Days, and other holy Days, but all *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* weekly, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administred Monthly, and the Number of Communicants considerable. The Church is commonly well filled with People every Lord's Day, and when they are fully assembled, both of the Town and Country that belong to that Congregation, they may well be reckoned, by modest Computation, to amount to Five Hundred Persons of Hearers. But sometimes there are many more; and generally the Converts from Quakerism, are good Examples, both \*for frequenting the Church Prayers, and frequent partaking of the Lord's-Supper, with zeal and devotion, and also of sober and virtuous Living in their daily conversation, to the frustrating the lying Prophecies and Expectations of the Quaker Preachers especially, who used to Prophecy, that whoever left the Profession of Quakers, after that should be good for nothing, but as unsavoury Salt, to be trod under foot of Men. But to God's Praise be it said, they may be generally compared with the best Quakers for their Morals, and far to exceed many of them in that respect; and which greatly casts the Ballance, that the

.87.

*Morals* of those converted from Quakerism, both in *England* and *America*, or any where else, are Built on the Foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, *Jesus Christ being the head corner Stone*, which the Quakers *Morals*, (no more than the Heathens) are not Built upon.

At *Burlington* in *West-Jersey*, Twenty Miles distant from *Philadelphia*, on the other side of *Delaware-River*, there is now a settled Congregation, with a fixed Minister, to wit, the Reverend Mr. *John Talbot*, my Fellow Labourer, where there is a large Congregation, and a considerable Number of Communicants, many of them having been formerly Quakers, and Quakerly affected, or such as were of no particular denomination. And such of them as had not been Baptized in Infancy, have received Baptism, partly by Mr. *Evans*, and partly by Mr. *Talbot*, and some of them by me. Mr. *Talbot* has Baptized most of them who have been Baptized, since our Arrival among them, and particularly all the Children, both Males and Females, of *William Budd*, who formerly was a Quaker-Preacher, but is come over from Quakerism, to the Church, with diverse others of the Neighbourhood, \*in the Country about the Town of *Burlington*, who come usually to the Church at *Burlington* on the Lord's-Day; some of them, Six, Eight, and some of them Ten, or Twelve Miles, and some of them more.

.88.

In some other Places they are about Building Churches, both in *West*, and *East-Jersey*.

The place at *Franckfort* in *Pensilvania*, where the Congregation Assemblies on the Lord's-Day, is called, *Trinity Chapel*, it was formerly a Quaker Meeting-House, Built, or fitted by Quakers, but some time ago has been given to the Church, by such who had the Right to it: Some Land adjoining was given by a Person well affected to the Church, for the use of the Minister, who should reside there, for a House, Garden, and small Orchard.

I can say little to any Success we had in *America*, amongst the other sort of Quakers, though, as the above-written Journal sheweth, I Laboured much among them, in true Love, and good Will; but they being misled, and prejudiced by their Leaders, seemed too generally to reject my Labour of Love; however, I am not without hope, that the Seed that God had enabled me to Sow among them, will in some of them, in due time, take Root downward, and bear Fruit upward, though little of it doth yet appear.

There are now Thirteen Ministers in the Northern Parts of *America*, all placed within these two Years last past, and generally Supported and Maintained by the *Honourable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*.<sup>220</sup>

In all the Places where we travelled, the Governours of all the several Provinces, did very kindly treat us, and give us all possible Countenance and Encouragement that we could desire or expect.

[KEITH'S LIST OF HIS TREATISES WRITTEN AND  
PUBLISHED IN NORTH AMERICA, 1702-1704]

.89.

*\*Here followeth an Account of the several Treatises I wrote and published in Print, in North-America, within the Time of my Abode there, in the Years 1702, and 1703, to 1704.*

- I. My Sermon I preached at *Boston*, on *Ephes. 2. 20.*<sup>321</sup> printed there.
- II. My printed Sheet, in a Letter to Mr. *Samuel Willard*, a Preacher at *Boston*.
- III. My Reply to Mr. *Increase Mather's* printed Remarks against the Six Rules I gave in my Sermon, on *Ephes. 2. 20.*
- IV. My Answer to Mr. *Samuel Willard's* Reply to my printed Sheet.
- V. My Answer to *Caleb Pusey* Quaker, his Book against me, which he abusively called, *Proteus Ecclesiasticus*.
- VI. The Account of the blasphemous Notions of *William Davis*, who after he left the Quakers, set up for a Sect-Master.
- VII. My Answer to a second Book of *Caleb Pusey* against me.
- VIII. My Sermon preached at *New-York*, on *Acts 2. 41, 42.*<sup>322</sup>
- IX. My Sermon preached at *New-York* on *1 Cor. 12. 13.*<sup>323</sup>
- X. My Sermon preached at *Annapolis* in *Maryland*, on *1 Thes. 1. 5.*<sup>324</sup>

All these bound up in one Book, I humbly presented to the Society, soon after my Arrival at *London*: The Book it self may be found at the Library of the most Reverend *Thomas Lord Arch Bishop of Canterbury*, by *St. Martins in the Fields*, where the Society useth to meet.

## [KEITH'S "SIX RULES FOR CHRISTIAN LIVING"]

## \*APPENDIX.

.90.

*The Six Rules above-mentioned, in the first Sheet of the foregoing Journal, are these following.*

## The First Rule.

Whatever is enjoyn'd by our Superiours, if it contradict not God's Commands in Holy Scripture, ought for Conscience sake to be obey'd, according to 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, 14.<sup>325</sup> *Rom.* 13. 5.<sup>326</sup> *Heb.* 13. 7, 17.<sup>327</sup> And if what they enjoyn, be not made a Command of God, or an Article of Faith, or a Means of Grace.

## The Second Rule.

Whatever Church holds the Fundamentals of Christian Religion, and has the Word of God duly Preach'd, and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's-Supper duly Administred; such a Church is a true Church of Christ; and to separate from such a Church in external Communion, and in external Acts of Worship, is a Sin, the which Sin is the Sin of Schism, that is very heinous, *Rom.* 16. 17.<sup>328</sup> 1 *Cor.* 12.25.<sup>329</sup> 1 *Cor.* 1. 10, 13.<sup>330</sup> and nothing can excuse from the Guilt of that Sin, unless when any thing is enjoyn'd to Persons that is \*really sinful and contrary to God's Commands given us in the Holy Scriptures; not what Men, by Prejudice of Education, or by wrong Information, say is Sin, but what really is so, and can be clearly proved to be so out of the Holy Scriptures. And if they cannot join in one or some external Acts of Worship, because sinful; yet in other Acts they ought to join that are not sinful.

.91.

## The Third Rule.

What Things we see amiss in particular Persons, are not to be charged upon the whole Church, unless the Church do justify those Persons in those Things; and what we can't amend, we ought to bear; for there is no Christian Society upon Earth but has some particular Persons that do amiss; and all Dissenters, when particular Failings of particular Persons are objected to them, give the like Excuse.

### The Fourth Rule.

.92.

To join in external Acts of Publick Worship, where the Matter is sound, tho' there be a great Mixture of unsound Members with others sound, is no Sin, but our Duty, for which we are warranted both by the Practice of the Prophets, and other holy Persons in the Ancient *Jewish* Church, who never did separate from the Publick Worship of God when the matter of it was sound, notwithstanding that Things were very much amiss amongst them in Practice: And also by the Example of *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth*, and all other holy Persons that were then in the *Jewish* Church, and by Example of our Saviour himself and his Apostles, who frequented the Temple worship, and also the Worship performed in the Synagogues before our Saviour's Passion, that put an end \*to Circumcision and Sacrifices, and other Types of the Old Testament.

### The Fifth Rule.

Whatsoever Things were commanded of God, or allow'd and practised lawfully under the Old Testament, that were neither any Part of the Ceremonial Law, nor of the Jewish Polity peculiar to that Nation, are still binding to us under the New Testament, or allow'd and practised lawfully; and a Proof out of the Old Testament, in all such Cases, is as good as a Proof out of the New.

### The Sixth Rule.

Set Forms of Prayer and Thanksgiving (where the People pray Vocally with the Minister) are a Duty as well under the New Testament as the Old; and that it was practised under the Old, is clear from *Isa. 29. 13.*<sup>331</sup> *Joel 2. 17.*<sup>332</sup> *Hos. 14. 2, 3.*<sup>333</sup> *Mat. 15.8*<sup>334</sup> &c. And under the New Testament our Saviour gave a Form of Prayer to his Disciples, which he commanded his Disciples to say; and *John* the Baptist taught his Disciples a Form of Prayer, *Luke 11. 2.*<sup>335</sup> And many of the Dissenters use the Form of *Benediction* after Sermon, *The Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, etc.<sup>336</sup> And they use the Form of Words that Christ taught, both in Baptism and the Lord's-Supper. Under the Old Testament they were to pray with the Spirit, and with Sincerity of Heart and Affection, as well as under the New; and therefore if praying in a Form was not then inconsistent with praying by the Spirit, no more is it now.

**FINIS.**

## Notes to George Keith's *Journal*

<sup>1</sup>COL. JOSEPH DUDLEY (1647-1720), governor of New England, colonial governor of Massachusetts. Son of Thomas Dudley. Graduate of Harvard. A commissioner of the United Colonies of New England (1677-1681), he was selected as one of the agents sent to England to protest against the threatened loss of the charter (1682). Won favor in England. Appointed (1684) governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and the King's Province. Held office till the Andros administration came into being. Prominent in the Andros government. At its fall, sent back to England to answer charges brought against him by the colonists. Acquitted. Chief justice of New York (1690-1692). Elected to Parliament (1701). Governor of Massachusetts (1702-1715). "His great unpopularity in the colony and his uncompromising attitude made his administration difficult"—E. Kimball, "Joseph Dudley," in *Columbia Encyclopaedia*, p. 528. He raised and directed expeditions in Queen Anne's War. [See James Truslow Adams, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 481-483.]

<sup>2</sup>THOMAS POVEY, at the time of his appointment as lieutenant-governor, was a "captain in the Queen's own regiment of foot-guards." The queen had deviated from the order of business by appointing him without communication with the Board of Trade. His commission was published by Gov. Dudley, June 11, 1702. He soon returned to London. [John Graham Palfrey, *History of New England* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1877), IV, 247, 279.] He still retained his title. [*Ibid.*, IV, 431.] Lieutenant-Governor (1702-1711.) [*Ibid.*, IV, 599.]

<sup>3</sup>LEWIS MORRIS (1671-1746), governor of New Jersey, American colonial official. First lord of the manor of Morrisania in New York. Born in New York, he inherited large properties in New York and New Jersey. In 1697, his New York estate was made the manor. Became a bitter opponent of the arbitrary government of Lord Cornbury, who was governor of both New York and New Jersey, and helped bring about his removal. Chief justice of New York (1715). Removed from that office as a result of a bitter struggle with Gov. Cosby. As a member of the Assembly, championed the popular cause. Upon the separation of New Jersey from New York, became governor of New Jersey. [*Columbia Encyclopaedia*, p. 1209.] There are frequent allusions to him in the letters of George Keith.

<sup>4</sup>PATRICK GORDON, second S. P. G. missionary and the first to reach New York province. Missionary to Long Island. Appointed missionary by S. P. G., March 20, 1702; sailed from England, April 24, 1702; reached Boston, June 11, 1702. Arrived at his parish; but took sick the day before he designed to preach, and died about 8 days later (July, 1702) of fever. [*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, pp. 10, 41, 57, 855.] In a letter to the secretary of the S. P. G., April 3, 1703, Keith alludes to "the Decease of Worthy Mr Gordon who dyed at Jamaica on Long Island about 6 weeks after his Arrival with us at Boston. His sickness was a violent fever that was then frequent at N. York where it's thought he first had it. I hope his Decease will be no discouragement to other good men to come into these Parts where the Harvest is so great and the labourers so few." [S. P. G., A1, No. xcvi, Library of Congress transcript.]

<sup>5</sup>In Keith's letter to the secretary of the S. P. G., the day after his landing, he refers to the hospitality afforded Mr. Gordon and himself



aboard the *Centurion*. There Governor Dudley's conversation was "both pleasant and instructive, insomuch that the great Cabin of the Ship was like a Colledge for good Discourse both in matters Theological and Philosophical, and very cordially he (Dudley) joined daily with us in divine worship. . . . Also Col. Morris was very civil & kind to us, and so was the Captain of the Ship called the *Centurion*, and all the superior officers, and all the Mariners generally." [S. P. G., A1, No. ix, Library of Congress transcript.]

<sup>6</sup>SAMUEL MYLES (c. 1663-1728). Graduated, Harvard, in 1684. M. A., Oxford, 1693. Ordained by bishop of London about 1680. Inducted into the rectorship of King's Chapel (the only Anglican church in New England at that time), June 29, 1689. Left for England in July, 1692, for the purpose of laying before the proper authorities the condition of the chapel and congregation, and obtaining aid in their behalf. He returned, July 24, 1696, having been very successful in securing the royal bounty in aid of his object.

The Rev. Christopher Bridge (or Bridges) arrived in March, 1699, as his assistant. A disagreement between the two resulted in Bridge's removal to Narragansett as S. P. G. missionary (1707). The Rev. Henry Harris came over in 1709 as Myles' assistant.

On April 15, 1723, Myles laid the cornerstone of Christ Church, which was opened by Dr. Timothy Cutler for public worship, Dec. 29, 1723.

In the summer of 1727, Myles' health caused him to forego his public duties. Died March 1, 1728. Dr. Greenwood described him as "a worthy and pious man, and an acceptable preacher . . . prudent and energetic." [Wm. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, 1859, p. 70 note; Edgar L. Pennington, "The Reverend Samuel Myles," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XI, 154-178.]

<sup>7</sup>CHRISTOPHER BRIDGE, or BRIDGES (1671?-1719), S. P. G. missionary. Educated at Cambridge University, England. Arrived, March, 1699, as assistant to the Rev. Samuel Myles at King's Chapel, Boston. A serious disagreement between the two clergymen, evidently because of the inequality of their official rights, finally resulted in Bridge's removal to Narragansett. Stationed at Narragansett (1707-1708). Transferred to Rye, N. Y. (1709-1710). Died May 22, 1719.

The Boston *News-Letter* said that he was "a religious and worthy man, a very good scholar, and a fine, grave preacher, his performance in the pulpit were solid, judicious, and profitable; his conversation very agreeable and improving; and though a strict Churchman in his principles, yet of great respect and charity to Dissenters, and much esteemed by them." [Wm. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, 1859, p. 70 note.]

<sup>8</sup>It is appropriate to review conditions in New England at the time of Keith's arrival. In 1701, there were only three clergymen of the Church of England in New England. The population was as follows: Massachusetts, 70,000; Connecticut, 30,000; Rhode Island and Providence, 5,000; Narragansett, 3,000; New Hampshire, 3,000; Maine, 2,000. These were mostly dissenters from the Church of England. [*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, p. 41.]

In Feb., 1702, the S. P. G., after reading letters delivered by Dr. Thomas Bray, and consulting George Keith, recorded its opinion "that a Missionary should be forthwith sent to the Naragansetts Country"; and the bishop of London was asked to recommend one. [*S. P. G. Journal*, Vol. I, Feb. 27, 1702; *Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, p. 41.] It was not possible to carry this out till many years later.

New England was first settled by Pilgrim Separatists in 1620 at Plymouth; about ten years later, it was much strengthened by a fresh im-

migration of Puritans. Other sects poured in. The Independents soon established their ecclesiastical system, and sought to exact from others rigid conformity to it. Quakers and other sectaries were driven out of Massachusetts. The Church of England settlers were so restrained from having their own form of worship, that in 1679 many of the inhabitants of Boston petitioned Charles II that they might be allowed to build a church there for the exercise of their religion according to the Church of England. Permission was accorded; and the congregation of King's Chapel, Boston, so increased that William III settled an allowance of £100 for the support of an assistant minister for them. [*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, p. 41.]

<sup>9</sup>For an account of the progress of the Church of England in Massachusetts, especially Boston, see Edgar L. Pennington, "Anglican Beginnings in Massachusetts," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, X, 242-289.

<sup>10</sup>King's Chapel (Queen's Chapel under the reign of Queen Anne), erected 1688-1689, and first used for worship, June 30, 1689, was the first Anglican church in the province of Massachusetts. Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel* is an admirable parish history, affording many details concerning Church life in early Massachusetts. See also Edgar L. Pennington, "Anglican Beginnings in Massachusetts," *ibid.*, pp. 285-289.

<sup>11</sup>"And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone;

"In whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord:

"In whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit,"—Ephesians ii, 20-22.

<sup>12</sup>"The sermon, which was essentially an attack upon the Quaker emphasis upon the Light within, was intended to prove to his hearers that 'The Doctrine of Christ, or Word of God contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, is essentially necessary to the being of the Church of Christ.' Warning against 'false Teachers and wild Enthusiasts,' Keith declared that his aim in coming to the New World was 'to heal up the breach . . . if possible, and be a Peace Maker to all such as with a peaceable and calm Spirit are willing to hear.' His discourse also included 'Six Brief Plain Rules for Christian living,' which at the request of the clergymen and the vestry was printed."—[Ethyn Williams Kirby, *George Keith* (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1942), p. 127.] For these "Six Rules" see below the appendix to Keith's *Journal*.

<sup>13</sup>INCREASE MATHER (1639-1723), distinguished divine. Son of the Rev. Richard Mather and Katharine Hoult. Born, Dorchester, Mass., June 21, 1639. A. B., Harvard College, 1656; A. M., Trinity College, Dublin, 1658; S. T. D., Harvard College, 1692 (first D. D. ever given at Harvard College; fellow, Harvard College, 1675-1685. Ordained, Boston (2nd Church), May 27, 1664; pastor of North Church, Boston, for 59 years. A powerful figure, constantly upholding Puritan polity and doctrine; an able writer. Instituted 6th president of Harvard College, June 11, 1685; served as president till 1701. Published 158 works; Artillery Election Sermons, 1665, 1710; Election Sermons, 1677, 1693, 1699, 1702. Went to England (1685) as a representative of the Massachusetts people to obtain relief in their troubles. After the Revolution of 1688, obtained from William III a new charter, under which Plymouth was united with Massachusetts Bay. [K. B. Murdock, "Increase Mather, in *Columbia Encyclopaedia*, p. 1135; Frederick L. Weis, *The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England* (Lancaster, Mass., 1936), p. 136.]

<sup>14</sup>Increase Mather, *Some Remarks on a late Sermon Preached at Boston by George Keith, M. A., Shewing that his Pretended Good Rules in Divinity are not Built on the Foundation of the Apostles & Prophets* (Boston, 1702).

<sup>15</sup>The Rev. Christopher Bridge in his letter to Keith, Nov. 19, 1702, tells of the refusal of the Boston printer to publish the reply to Increase Mather. The Rev. Mr. Myles had submitted the manuscript to the governor and afterwards offered it to the press; but "the Printer made many Scruples & seem'd unwilling to meddle with it, because he said it was not well wrote." Bridge replied to Mr. Myles "that it was only the Printer's fear of disobliging Mr Mather, but we could have him ordered to print it, & might remove his pretended Difficulty, by having it fairly transcribed." [S. P. G., A1, No. xlix, Library of Congress transcript.]

<sup>16</sup>"But the righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down from above:)

"Oh, Who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.)

"But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith, which we preach;

"That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."—Romans x, 6-9.

<sup>17</sup>JOHN TALBOT (1645-1737), Anglican clergyman. Born in the parish of Wymondham, Norfolk; son of Thomas Talbot, gent., and Jone Mead. Educated at Elmden, Essex, before going to the university. B. A., Cambridge, 1663; Fellow of Peterhouse, 1664; M. A., 1671. Rector of Fretherne, Gloucestershire, 1695.

Served a congregation in Virginia 8 years; returned to England because of a lawsuit. During his absence, a new incumbent was settled there. Chaplain of the *Centurion* while George Keith was travelling to America. Accompanied Keith on his travels of observation for the S. P. G. (1702-1704), and accepted as missionary by the S. P. G.

Called to serve the congregation at Burlington, N. J.; and began his services there in 1704. Active in his efforts to secure the episcopate for America; travelled to England to represent the great need of a bishop for the colonies. Resisted the arbitrary interference of the colonial administration, and incurred the displeasure of certain officials. The evidence indicates that he was consecrated bishop by the Non-Jurors. He is not known to have exercised episcopal functions. Accusations of disaffection to the Establishment and to the royal family led to his removal by the S. P. G.; but highly commendatory letters were written extolling his "indefatigable pains and good success in his Ministry" and "his exemplary life." He died Nov. 30, 1727. [Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1938).]

<sup>18</sup>SAMUEL WILLARD (1640-1707), New England divine. Son of Major Simon Willard and Mary Sharpe. Born, Concord, Mass., Jan. 31, 1640. M. A., Harvard College, 1659. Called to the pulpit of Groton, Mass. (June, 1663); ordained in 1664. His parish was early troubled by a case of "diabolical seizure"; in connection with it, Willard made one of the best psychic investigations recorded in the witchcraft literature. Before the destruction of Groton by the Indians, he became well known in Boston through his printed sermons. Installed at the Old South Church (1678) as colleague pastor to Thomas Thacher. Sole pastor (1678).

An earnest lecturer and logician. He scorned the "enthusiasm" of the Baptist preachers; and suggested that the Baptists go and hew out their own colonies in the wilderness, instead of troubling those already

established by others. Opposed the methods of the witchcraft court, and recommended an enlightened procedure by which none would be hanged for witchcraft. Vice-president of Harvard (1700). Resigned (1707). A voluminous writer. Died, Sept. 12, 1707. [Clifford K. Shipton, "Samuel Willard," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 237-238.]

<sup>19</sup>Keith's opinions of the influences at Harvard College are expressed in his letter to Dr. Thomas Bray (Feb. 26, 1702/3), wherein he proposes sending some able scholars from Oxford or Cambridge to reside at the College. "It would have great influence and have good effects upon the Youth in the Colledge, w<sup>ch</sup> all along have been poisoned w<sup>th</sup> very bad principles, such as the printed sheet I herewith send (called a Refutation) doth discover. And especially they are much corrupted w<sup>th</sup> Notions ag<sup>st</sup> the Church of England both in worship and Discipline."—[S. P. G., A1, No. lxxxviii, Library of Congress transcript.]

<sup>20</sup>Samuel Willard, *A Brief Reply to George Keith* . . . (Boston, 1702).

<sup>21</sup>George Keith, *An Answer to Mr. Samuell Willard his Reply* . . . (New York, 1704).

<sup>22</sup>THOMAS TENISON (1636-1715), archbishop of Canterbury; one of the founders of the S. P. G. Born, Cottenham, Cambridgeshire, Sept. 29, 1636. Educated at the Free School, Norwich; at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; graduated, 1657; fellow, 1659. Studied medicine. Ordained in 1659. Conspicuous for his devoted attention to the sufferers in the plague. Held various livings. D. D., 1680.

Presented by Charles II to the cure of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. He endowed schools, set up a public library, and kept many curates to assist him in his indefatigable labours. A strenuous opponent of the Church of Rome.

Under William III, he was named a member of the ecclesiastical commission appointed to prepare matters towards a reconciliation of the dissenters; their revision of the liturgy was especially entrusted to him. Preached a funeral sermon on Nell Gwynn (died 1687), in which he represented her as truly penitent—a charitable judgment. The general liberality of his religious views commended him to royal favor. Promoted to archbishop of Canterbury, Dec., 1694. Attended Queen Mary during her last illness, and preached her funeral sermon in Westminster Abbey. When William III (1695) went to take command of the army in the Netherlands, Tenison was appointed one of the seven lords justices to whom his authority was delegated. Along with Bishop Gilbert Burnet, he attended the king on his deathbed.

Crowned Queen Anne. During her reign, not much in favor at court. A commissioner for the Union with Scotland (1706). Strong supporter of the Hanoverian succession; one of the three officers of state to whom on the death of Anne was entrusted the duty of appointing a regent till the arrival of George I, whom he crowned (Oct. 31, 1714). Died, London, Dec. 14, 1715. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Ed., XXVI, 617-618.]

<sup>23</sup>"Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me."—Revelation iii, 20.

<sup>24</sup>JEREMIAH SHEPARD (1648-1720), New England minister. Born, Cambridge, Mass., Aug. 11, 1648; son of the Rev. Thomas Shepard and Margaret Boradel. A. B., Harvard College, 1669; A. M. Settled at Rowley (1673-1678); settled at Essex (1679-1680). Ordained, Lynn, Oct. 6, 1680. Settled at Lynn (1680-1720). Representative, General Court (1689). Election Sermon, 1715. Died, Lynn, June 2, 1720. [Frederick L.

*Weis, The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England*, Lancaster, Mass., 1936, p. 185.]

<sup>23</sup>EDWARD BURROUGH (1634-1663), English minister of the Society of Friends. Born at Underbarrow, near Kendal. He was converted by George Fox, 1652. In 1653, he was imprisoned for a short time for writing to a person living in great licentiousness. Began to preach in London in 1654. Travelled into Ireland and Scotland, preaching. Published, besides other works, a *Message to the Present Rulers of England* (1659); *A Trumpet of the Lord sounded out of Zion* (1656). The *Dictionary of National Biography* lists 22 of the most important of his works. Wrote many epistles. Arrested at a meeting, after declaring that he "was going to lay down his life in London for the Gospel, and to suffer among the Friends in that place." Violently dragged through the streets; committed to Newgate Prison (1662). Thrust into a felon's dungeon, which was so crowded that some of the prisoners died of suffocation. Died, Feb. 14, 1663. [Augustus Charles Bickley, "Edward Burroughs," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, III, 443-444.]

<sup>24</sup>The "noted Quaker" was JOHN RICHARDSON, from England, probably sent over by the London Quakers, along with several others—Thomas Story and Samuel Bownas among them—to refute Keith and to nullify his efforts among the Quakers. [See Ethyn W. Kirby, *George Keith (1638-1716)*, pp. 130-131, 136.]

<sup>25</sup>The Quakers had by this time established themselves at Hampton, New Hampshire. At the Salisbury Court, Feb. 14, 1674, 13 persons, all belonging to Hampton, "were convicted before this court for y<sup>e</sup> breach of y<sup>e</sup> law called Quakers meeting, and were all admonished & so upon paying y<sup>e</sup> fees of y<sup>e</sup> court are discharged for y<sup>e</sup> present." The first Quaker quarterly meeting at Hampton was established as early as 1697 or earlier. In 1701, the Friends decided to build a meeting-house. On June 21, 1701, Thomas Chase of Hampton, in consideration of love and good will, conveyed to the Quakers of Hampton, a tract of land in the bounds of Hampton, "to Seat a Meeting-house thereon." The same year, the meeting-house was built. [Joseph Dow, *History of the Town of Hampton, N. H.* (1893), I, 392-393.]

<sup>27</sup>"To open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me."—Acts xxvi, 18.

<sup>28</sup>JOHN COTTON (1658-1710), New England clergyman. Son of the Rev. Seaborn Cotton and Dorothy Bradstreet. Born, Hampton, N. H., May 8, 1658. A. B., Harvard College, 1678; A. M. Librarian, Harvard College (1681-1690). Fellow, Harvard College (1681-1690). Ordained, Hampton, N. H., Nov. 19, 1696. Settled at Hampton, N. H. (1696-1710). Died, Hampton, N. H., March 27, 1710. [Frederick L. Weis, *The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England*, Lancaster, Mass., 1936, p. 62.]

<sup>29</sup>This should have been CALEB CUSHING (1672/3-1752), New England clergyman. Son of the Hon. John Cushing and Sarah Hawks. Born, Scituate, Jan. 6, 1672/3. A. B., Harvard College, 1692; A. M. Ordained, Salisbury, Nov. 9, 1688. Settled at Salisbury (1698-1752). His home was used as a garrison in 1702. Died, Salisbury, Jan. 25, 1752. [*Ibid.*, p. 65.]

<sup>30</sup>"And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent."—St. John xvii, 3.

<sup>31</sup>"Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them."—Romans i, 19.

<sup>32</sup>"That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."—St. John i, 9.

<sup>33</sup>"And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. "For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved."—St. John iii, 19-20.

<sup>34</sup>"Then Jesus said unto them, Yet a little while is the light with you. Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you: for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth.

"While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light. These things spake Jesus, and departed, and did hide himself from them."—St. John xii, 35-36.

<sup>35</sup>"Nevertheless I tell you the truth; It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.

"And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment:

"Of sin, because they believe not on me;

"Of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more;

"Of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged."—St. John xvi, 7-11.

<sup>36</sup>See Note 16, *supra*.

<sup>37</sup>"And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me."—2 Corinthians xii, 9.

<sup>38</sup>"For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men,

"Teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world;

"Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ:

"Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works."—Titus ii, 11-14.

<sup>39</sup>THOMAS CHASE: see Note 26, *supra*.

<sup>40</sup>GEORGE FOX (1624-1691), founder of the Society of Friends. By nature serious and contemplative, at the age of 19 he entered upon a quest for spiritual enlightenment; wandering about, turning at last from priests and pastors, he sought the truth in the Bible while alone in the fields. In 1648, he began to preach in marketplaces and elsewhere the religion which had filled his life with light. Great numbers accepted his teachings. He did not design to found a new sect; but an organization of those who adopted his views formed itself. He displayed great gifts for planning the same. The Society of Friends developed rapidly. From 1650 to 1674 he was imprisoned eight times; suffered hardships in confinement. Meantime, he wrote persuasively of his doctrines. Went to Barbados and the American colonies (1671). Twice, later, visited Holland. His gracious personality and power of preaching are vouched for. Died, Jan. 13, 1691. [Rufus M. Jones, *George Fox, an Autobiography*; *Columbia Encyclopaedia*, p. 653.]



<sup>41</sup>GEORGE WHITEHEAD (1636?-1725), English Quaker preacher. Born, Orton, Westmoreland. When about 14 years old, he was attracted to the Quakers, hearing how they were reviled by unprincipled people. About 1654, started as an itinerant preacher, through Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, to Norwich. Imprisoned many times; set in the stocks, condemned "to be openly whipped until his body be bloody." Courageous and fearless. Held many disputations. Wrote many publications. Procured for the Society of Friends the allowance of an affirmation in the courts of law instead of a personal oath. Strong friend of George Fox. His continued efforts secured toleration by Toleration Act passed in first year of William and Mary. Accomplished much to improve the legal status of Quakers. "It is almost impossible to overestimate Whitehead's share in the foundation of the Society of Friends, or his influence in the development of national religious liberty." [Charlotte Fell-Smith, "George Whitehead," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXI, 98-101.]

<sup>42</sup>"Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, not as in my presence only, but now much more in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.

"For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure."—Philippians ii, 12-13.

<sup>43</sup>DOVER, on the Cocheco river, at the head of navigation, 10 miles northwest of Portsmouth, is one of the two oldest cities of New Hampshire. In May, 1623, a settlement was established by Edward Hilton on Dover Point, about 5 miles southeast of the Cocheco Falls; the present name was adopted in 1639. Hilton and his followers were Anglicans; but in 1633 they were joined by several Puritan families under Captain Thomas Wiggan, who settled on Dover Neck (one mile above Dover Point). As the settlement was outside the jurisdiction of any province, and as trouble arose between the two sects, a plantation covenant was drawn up and signed in 1640 by 41 of the inhabitants. Dissensions continued, however; and in 1641, by the will of the majority, Dover passed under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and so remained for nearly half a century. The town, between 1675 and 1725, suffered greatly from Indian attacks, particularly from that of June 28, 1689, at Cocheco Falls. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., VIII, 455.]

<sup>44</sup>"For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."—1 Corinthians iii, 11.

<sup>45</sup>"For God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ."—1 Thessalonians v, 9.

<sup>46</sup>"Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:

"Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."—St. Matthew xxviii, 19-20.

<sup>47</sup>See Note 46, *supra*.

<sup>48</sup>JOHN PIKE (1653-1709/10), 4th settled minister at Dover, N. H. Son of Major Robert Pike and Sarah Sanders. Born, Salisbury, Mass., May 15, 1653. A. B., Harvard College, 1675; A. M. Ordained, Dover, N. H. (1st Church), Aug. 31, 1681. Settled at Dover, N. H. (1678-1709). Chaplain, at Pemaquid, Maine (1694-1695). Died, Dover, N. H., March 10, 1709/10. [Frederick L. Weis, *The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Church of New England* (Lancaster, Mass., 1936), p. 166.]

<sup>49</sup>SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS, about 15 miles northeast of Boston, was settled in 1626 by Roger Conant (1593-1679) and a company of "planters," who in 1624, under the Sheffield patent of 1623 for settlement on the

north shore of Massachusetts Bay, had attempted a plantation at Cape Ann, whither John Lyford and others had previously come from Plymouth through "dissatisfaction with the extreme separation from the English Church." Conant was not a Separatist; and the Salem settlement was a commercial venture, partly agricultural, and partly to provide a wintering place for Banks fishermen so that they might more quickly make their spring catch. Cape Ann was too bleak, but Naumkeag was a pleasant and fruitful neck of land, which they named "Salem" in June, 1629.

In 1628, a patent for the territory was granted by the New England Council to the Dorchester Company, in which the Rev. John White, of Dorchester, England, was conspicuous, and which sent out (1628) a small company under John Endecott as governor. Under the charter for the colony of Massachusetts Bay (1629), which superseded the Dorchester Company patent, Endecott continued as governor until the arrival of John Winthrop (1630). Gov. Winthrop soon removed the seat of government, first to Charlestown, then to Boston.

In July or August, 1629, the first Congregational Church in America was organized there. Its teacher in 1631 and 1633 and its pastor in 1634-1635 was Roger Williams, a close friend of Gov. Endecott and always popular in Salem. Williams fled thence to Rhode Island (1635) to escape arrest by the officials of Massachusetts Bay.

In 1686, fearing that they might be possessed by a new charter, the people of Salem secured a deed from the Indians to the land they then held.

The witchcraft delusion of 1692 centered about Salem Village, now in the township of Danvers, a part of Salem. Ten girls, aged 9 to 17 years (two of them house-servants), met during the winter of 1691-1692 in the home of Samuel Parris, pastor of the Salem Village church; and after learning palmistry and various "magic" tricks from Parris's West Indian slave, Tituba, and influenced doubtless by current talk about witches, accused Tituba and two old women of bewitching them. The excitement spread rapidly; many more were accused; and, within four months, hundreds were arrested, and many were tried before commissioners of oyer and terminer (appointed, May 27, 1692, including Samuel Sewall of Boston and three inhabitants of Salem); 19 were hanged, and one was pressed to death in September for refusing to plead when he was accused. All these trials were conducted in accordance with the English law of the time; there had been an execution for witchcraft in Charlestown in 1648, and there were cases in Boston (1655) and in Newbury (1680). The reaction came suddenly in Salem; and in May, 1693, Gov. William Phips ordered the release from prison of all then held on the charge of witchcraft.

Salem was an important port after 1670. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XXIV, 62-63.]

<sup>80</sup>NEWBURYPORT, MASSACHUSETTS, on the south bank of the Merrimac river, about three miles above its mouth, and about 38 miles north-northeast of Boston, was in the early part of the 18th century one of the most prosperous commercial centers in New England. At that time fishing, whaling, and shipbuilding were its principal industries; the clipper ships built there being among the fastest and best known on the seas. Newbury, including the site of the present Newburyport, was settled in 1635 by a company under the leadership of the Rev. Thomas Parker (1595-1677), who had taught in Newbury, England, in his youth. In 1639, a portion of the territory was set off to form the town of Rowley. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XIX, 468.]

<sup>81</sup>See Note 42, *supra*.

<sup>82</sup>NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, occupies the southern portion of the island of Rhode Island at the entrance of Narragansett Bay, about 30

miles south by east of Providence, about 71 miles south by west of Boston, and about 165 miles east-northeast of New York.

It was founded by Nicholas Easton (1593-1675), William Coddington (1601-1678), John Coggeshall, John Clarke (1609-1676), William Brenton (died 1674), William Dyer, Thomas Hazard, Henry Bull (1609-1693), and Jeremy Clerke (died 1652), who, as Antinomians, were driven from Massachusetts Bay, and settled (1638) at Pocasset (later Portsmouth) in the northern part of Rhode Island. As radical tendencies prevailed in Pocasset, they removed and in 1639 settled Newport at the southern end of the island (called Aquidneck until 1644), which they had bought from the Indians.

At the beginning an independent government by judge and elders was established (Newport and Portsmouth being united in 1640), but in 1647 the town was united with Providence, Portsmouth, and Warwick in the formation of Rhode Island according to the Williams (or, as it is commonly called, the Warwick) charter of 1644. During 1651-1654, Newport and Portsmouth were temporarily separated from the other two towns.

About 1640, a Baptist Church was founded, which is probably the oldest in the United States, except the Baptist congregation in Providence; in Newport, at nearly the same time, one of the first free schools in America was opened.

The English Friends settled there in 1656. They formed half the population of Newport in 1700, and for many years thereafter. Until the middle of the 18th century, they were a majority of the population of the South Narragansett shore of Rhode Island (now Washington county). [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XIX, 534; Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. xv.]

The first New England community to receive "encouragement" from the S. P. G. was Newport. For the people there the S. P. G. allowed £15 (January, 1703) for "a Chalice Patten, Cloath and other necessities." [*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, p. 82; *S. P. G. Journal*, Vol. I, Jan. 15, 1703.]

<sup>53</sup>JOHN LOCKYER (d. 1704), Anglican clergyman. Son of William Lockyer of Colchester, England. A. B., Trinity College, Cambridge, 1697/98; A. M. Ordained in London, Oct. 27, 1701. Settled at Newport (1701-1704). Signed the Declaration of Uniformity, Nov. 11, 1701. Died, Boston, April 20, 1704. [Frederick L. Weis, *The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England* (Lancaster, Mass., 1936), p. 128; Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1938), p. 101; *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XVI, 335.]

<sup>54</sup>In 1699, the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England established the Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting, consisting of 3 monthly meetings, viz.,

(1) Rhode Island Monthly Meeting.

(2) Narragansett: Held for a time at Kingston, and hence sometimes called the "Kingston Meeting," but in 1700 moved to "the New Meeting in East Greenwich," where it was held constantly for 9 years. In 1707, it was moved to Providence.

(3) Dartmouth Monthly Meeting, April 26, 1699.

—[James N. Arnold, *Vital Records of Rhode Island, 1636-1850* (1st series, Providence: Narragansett Historical Publishing Co., 1895), VII, "Friends and Ministers," p. 1.]

<sup>55</sup>See Note 35, *supra*.

<sup>80</sup>See Note 38, *supra*.

<sup>87</sup>SAMUEL CRANSTON (1659-1727), colonial governor of Rhode Island. Son of John Cranston (1625-1680), colonial governor of Rhode Island. Chosen governor in 1698. Chosen again 30 years in succession. At no time during the colony's stormy history was the stress greater than during his administration. Under his immediate predecessors, the colony had been gracious to pirates. The earl of Bellomont had been appointed (1697) governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, with powers of captain-general over Rhode Island, to bring about reform. There were serious charges against Rhode Island; danger that Rhode Island would lose its charter. Bellomont died, 1701. He was replaced by Joseph Dudley, who revived the Bellomont charges. Gov. Cranston challenged Dudley's accusations; but Rhode Island narrowly escaped losing its charter rights. Disputes with Massachusetts and Connecticut over boundaries marked Cranston's later years. Currency was a problem. Rhode Island prospered under Cranston. [Irving B. Richman, "Samuel Cranston," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 512-513.]

<sup>88</sup>Probably WALTER CLARKE (1640-1714), deputy governor of Rhode Island. Born, Newport, R. I., 1640. Chosen governor (1676). Quaker. On account of religious convictions, reluctant to authorize armed resistance to the Indian wars. Elected deputy governor or governor 23 times. Died, May 22, 1714. [*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, X, 7.]

<sup>89</sup>*One Wonder More Added to the Seven Wonders of the World* (London, 1700).

<sup>90</sup>ISAAC CASAUBON (1559-1614), one of the most eminent critics and scholars of his time. Born, Geneva, Feb. 8, 1559, of a French Protestant refugee family. Professor of Greek in the College of Geneva (1582). Began to publish editions of Greek authors. Hallam said that his *Athenaeus* (1600) "has always been deemed a noble monument of critical sagacity and extensive erudition. In conjectural emendation of the text, no one hitherto has been equal to Casaubon." Professor of Greek at Montpellier (1596-1599). Invited by Henry IV to Paris to give lessons in Greek. Appointed royal librarian. Published edition of Polybius (1609). Removed to England (1610). James I made him prebendary of Canterbury. Joseph Scaliger said: "He is the most learned man now living." A moderate Protestant. Died, July 1, 1614; buried in Westminster Abbey. [See Mark Pattison, "Isaac Casaubon," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, V, 441-444.]

<sup>91</sup>See Note 32, *supra*.

<sup>92</sup>RICHARD CLARIDGE (1649-1723), eminent Quaker writer. Born at Farmborough, Warwickshire, England, 1649. Student at Balliol College, Oxford, and S. Mary's Hall; B. A., 1670. Ordained deacon. Curate of Wardington. Ordained priest. Presented to the living of Peopleton in Warwickshire, where he remained for 20 years. In 1689, he became dissatisfied with episcopacy, because of a sermon preached by Richard Baxter. Became an Independent. Opened an Independent meeting-house (1692) in Oxford. Joined the Society of Friends (1696). Among his writings: *Lux Evangelica Attestata, or a further Testimony to the sufficiency of the light within* (1701). Died, April 28, 1723. [Augustus Charles Buckley, "Richard Claridge," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, IV, 399-400.]

<sup>93</sup>WILLIAM PENN (1644-1718), distinguished Quaker; founder of Pennsylvania. Son of Admiral Sir William Penn. Born, London, Oct. 14, 1644. Sent to Christ Church, Oxford. While at Oxford, impressed

with the views of the new sect of Friends. Joined with several students in resisting forms and ceremonies which they regarded as unscriptural. He and several associates were expelled from the university. His father much opposed to his views. Spent some time in France. Studied theology. Took part in military service for a short time; but his early convictions returned. He threw in his lot with the Quakers. Began to preach and to write in defence of the new doctrine. Author of many publications. Spent over 8 months in solitary confinement in the Tower. Sent word that "his prison should be his grave before he would renounce his just opinions; for that he owed his conscience to no man." In prison he composed his most popular work, *No Cross, No Crown*. Released. Spent a while in Ireland. Resumed his preaching; arrested and imprisoned. Made a journey to the continent. In 1680, he obtained an extensive tract of land in America, west of the Delaware and north of Maryland. To it the king gave the name of "Pennsylvania," contrary to Penn's wishes. Sailed for the new country, Sept., 1682. Landed in Delaware Bay, Oct. 27, 1682. Made treaty with the Indians, Nov., 1682. Voltaire said it was "the only league between the aborigines and the Christians which was never sworn to and never broken." Returned to England (1684), where he used his influence in behalf of the Quakers. Among his works: *Primitive Christianity revived in the Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers* (1696). His later years in England very eventful; involved in public affairs. Made a second visit to his colony (1699-1701). Died of paralysis, July 30, 1718. [James McMullen Rigg, "William Penn," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XV, 756-765; Lippincott's *Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary*, 5th ed., 1915-1918; extensive bibliography.]

<sup>84</sup>*The Christian Faith of the People of God, . . . Quakers in Rhode Island . . . Vindicated from the Calumnies of Christian Lodowick* (Philadelphia, 1692).

<sup>85</sup>*Help in Time of Need to the People of the (so-called) Church of Scotland*, Amsterdam? 1665 (preface by Alexander Jaffray).

<sup>86</sup>"For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace."—Isaiah ix, 6.

<sup>87</sup>The WESTMINSTER CATECHISM was completed in 1648 after much time and labour, in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, by an assembly composed of members from England and Scotland, and presented by them to the British House of Commons and the day following to the House of Lords. It has become a part of the constitution of every Presbyterian Church in the English-speaking world. [For more details of its history, see below, Part III, Appendix A, "The Westminster Confession and Catechism."]

<sup>88</sup>For the doctrine of the Trinity, according to the Westminster Confession, see below, Part III, Appendix B.

<sup>89</sup>Robert Barclay, *Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as the same is set forth and preached by the people called in scorn Quakers*, 1676.

ROBERT BARCLAY (1648-1690), Quaker apologist. Born at Gordons-town, Morayshire, Dec. 23, 1648, of an ancient Scottish family. Served in the Scotch army; served in Cromwell's Parliament (1654, 1656). After the Restoration, his estates were forfeited. His father had become converted to Quakerism; he followed the example in 1667. Acquired a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew; read the Fathers and ecclesiastical history. Began his writings, for which he is famous. His *Apology* published at

Amsterdam (1676) in Latin. English version followed the same year. Suffered persecution and imprisonment. Died at Ury, Oct. 3, 1690. His *Apology* is regarded as the standard exposition of the principles of his sect. It is one of the most impressive theological writings of the century—impressive in style, grave and logical. [Leslie Stephen, "Robert Barclay," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, I, 1087-1090.]

<sup>70</sup>"R. C." denotes Richard Claridge.

<sup>71</sup>"To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life.

"But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath.

"Tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile:

"But glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile;

"But there is no respect of persons with God.

"For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law; and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law;

"(For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified.

"For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves:

"Which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another;)

"In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my gospel.

"Behold, thou art called a Jew, and resistest in the law, and makest thy boast of God."—Romans ii, 7-17.

<sup>72</sup>See Note 27, *supra*.

<sup>73</sup>"And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up."—St. John iii, 14.

<sup>74</sup>"And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.

"This he said, signifying what death he should die."—St. John xii, 32-33.

<sup>75</sup>George Whitehead, *The Light and Life of Christ within, and the Extent and Efficiency thereof Demonstrated*, 1668.

<sup>76</sup>William Penn, *Quakerism a new Nickname for old Christianity*, 1672.

<sup>77</sup>The Quakers at the time of Keith's visit formed a majority of the population of the South Narragansett shore of Rhode Island. One of the three monthly meetings of the Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting system established by the Quakers in 1699 was the Narragansett Meeting.

<sup>78</sup>See Note 38, *supra*.

<sup>79</sup>The Rev. CHRISTOPHER BRIDGE, stationed at Kingston, about four years later, was the first Church of England clergyman settled in Narragansett. He removed to Rye, N. Y., in 1709; and died, May 22, 1719. [*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, pp. 852, 855.]

For an excellent account of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, see Wilkins Updike's *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, R. I.*, 1847.



<sup>80</sup>Henry Head of Little Compton married Elizabeth ..... (1677). He died, July 1, 1716. [James N. Arnold, *Vital Records of Rhode Island, 1636-1850* (1st Series, Narragansett Historical Publishing Co., 1893), IV, "Newport County," p. 125.]

<sup>81</sup>"But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel: After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts: and will be their God, and they shall be my people."—Jeremiah xxxi, 33.

<sup>82</sup>THOMAS EAGER (b. 1670) was sent by the S. P. G. to Swansea and Little Compton (1712-1714). He resigned. [*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, p. 853.]

<sup>83</sup>"For our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance; as ye know what manner of men we were among you for your sake."—1 Thessalonians i, 5.

<sup>84</sup>JOHN BORDEN (1640?-1716), of Portsmouth, R. I., married Sarah Claiton, of Newport, R. I., Dec. 25, 1670. He died June 4, 1716, aged 76 years. His widow, Sarah, married John Earll, of Freetown, Dec. 24, 1719. [James N. Arnold, *Vital Records of Rhode Island, 1636-1850* (1st Series, Narragansett Historical Publishing Co., 1895), VII, "Friends and Ministers," pp. 89, 5.]

<sup>85</sup>See Note 34, *supra*.

<sup>86</sup>CALEB CARR, between 1657 and 1660, joined the Quaker movement in Rhode Island. In 1661, he was elected treasurer general of the colony. Succeeded Gov. Easton (1697). A spiritual leader among the Quakers. [Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Macmillan, 1911), pp. 174, 184, 192, 197, 200.]

William Carr, of Newport, died between 1745 and 1755. [James N. Arnold, *Vital Records of Rhode Island, 1636-1850* (Providence: Narragansett Historical Publishing Co., 1893), IV, "Little Compton," p. 86.]

<sup>87</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>88</sup>WILLIAM CODDINGTON (1601-1678), governor of Aquidneck. Born in Boston, England. Came to Massachusetts about 1630 as assistant (director) in the Bay Company. Appointed one of the committee on military affairs (1635). Treasurer of the Bay Company (1634-1636). Protested in behalf of Anne Hutchinson (1638). He and other liberals withdrew to the island of Aquidneck (Rhode Island), where they set up an Old Testament government of judge and elders. Coddington was judge (1639). Moved to the south side of Aquidneck, May 16, 1639. Founded Newport. Aquidneck, or Rhode Island, was united to Roger Williams' settlement of Providence (1644). Coddington had this settlement set aside (1651). He and Williams became alienated. Espoused Quakerism late in life. Became (1674, 1675, 1678) chief magistrate of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation. Died, Nov. 1, 1678. [Irving B. Richman, "William Coddington," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 258-259.]

(b) WALTER CLARKE (1638?-1714), colonial governor of Rhode Island. Born, Newport, R. I., c. 1658. Became prominent in the colony. Deputy governor (1679-1686, 1700-1714); governor (1676-1677, 1686, 1696-1698). On the council of Sir Edmund Andros. Quaker. Died, May 23, 1714. [James Truslow Adams, "Walter Clarke," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 163-164.]

(c) JOHN EASTON (1617-1705), colonial governor of Rhode Island. Born in Wales, 1617. Attorney general of the Assembly of Newport and Portsmouth (1653). Governor (1656-1657, 1660-1663, 1664-1670, 1672-1674); deputy governor (1674-1676); governor (1690-1695). Left in

manuscript a "Narrative of the causes which led to Philip's Indian War." Died, Newport, Dec. 12, 1705. [*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, X, 9-10.]

(d) HENRY BULL (1609-1693), governor of Rhode Island. Born in South Wales. Early came to America. After a short residence in Massachusetts, with a party of 17, purchased land and settled in Newport (c. 1638). Governor in 1690. Died in Rhode Island, 1693. [*Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 444-445.]

<sup>89</sup>William Penn, *A Key opening a way to every common Understanding, How to discern the Difference betwixt the Religion professed by the People called Quakers and the Perversions, Misrepresentations, and Calumnies of their several Adversaries*, 1692.

<sup>90</sup>"For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh: (For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds;)

"Casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."—2 Corinthians x, 3-5.

<sup>91</sup>"But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne:

"Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King.

"Neither shalt thou swear by the head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black.

"But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."—St. Matthew v, 34-37.

<sup>92</sup>William Penn discussed swearing in *A Treatise on Oaths, containing several weighty Reasons why the People call'd Quakers refuse to swear*, 1675.

<sup>93</sup>John Whiting's *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, 1708, is "the earliest gathering of titles concerning the Quakers." [Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History* (London, 1886), III, 504.]

<sup>94</sup>SAMUEL JENNINGS (d. 1708). Probably a native of Coles-Hill, Buckinghamshire, England. Immigrated in 1680, to organize the government of West Jersey. Prominent Quaker preacher and leader in England. Called the Assembly of West Jersey, which, in Nov., 1681, created a government of an unusually democratic character. Served as governor (1682, 1683). Chosen one of the Council of West Jersey (1688). Active in Quaker evangelistic work; greatly interested in suppressing the George Keith movement. Went to England (1694). After his return, lived in Philadelphia, then in Burlington. The crown appointed him to the Council of New Jersey (1702). Speaker of the Assembly. Died, 1708; buried in the Friends' graveyard at Burlington. [*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XVI, 437; Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Macmillan, 1911), pp. 237, 239, 379, 381, 383, 384, 386, 450, 451.]

<sup>95</sup>George Keith, *A Serious Appeal to all the more Sober, Impartial & Judicious People in New England*, Philadelphia, 1692.

<sup>96</sup>WILLIAM BRADFORD (1663-1752), printer. Born in Leicestershire, England, May 20, 1663. Moved to Philadelphia, where he set up the first press. Added a bookstore in 1688. Associated (1690) in the establishment of the first paper mill in the American colonies. In 1692, became involved in the turbulence that had arisen from the schism led by George Keith, whose propaganda he favoured with his press. Arrested. Moved his press (1693) to the city of New York. In the next 50 years, printed some 400 items. Began the publication of the *New York Gazette* (1725),

the first newspaper in New York. Died, May 23, 1752. [*Columbia Encyclopaedia*, p. 223; *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 563-564.]

<sup>97</sup>JOHN MACOMB (McCOMB), tailor. John McComb from Ireland was at Philadelphia in 1688. He had the following recommendation from William Stockdale (Stockdall), a minister of County Tyrone, who came over to Philadelphia in the ship *Friendship* in 1684, and served as a member of the Provincial Council:

"To friends of the Monthly Meeting at Philledelphy these are to Satisfie you concerning John McComb who I doe understand is intended to take a wife Amongst you that Soe fare as I know he came a cleer man from all wiming out of Ireland save only my daughter which the lord was pleased to take out of the bodey to whom he should have ben married if She had lived & about three nights before I came from my being in Ierland his father was with me and as to his maridge left him to his owne liberty & Choose this I Satisfie under my (hand) this 19<sup>th</sup> of the 6<sup>th</sup> month, 1688.—Wm. Stockdall."

[Albert Cook Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, 1682-1750* (Swarthmore, Pa., 1902), pp. 280-281.]

While Thomas Lloyd was deputy governor of the province of Pennsylvania, "in 1692, William Bradford, who with one McComb had published 'A Plea for the Innocent,' a virulent tract of George Keith's, was tried for issuing a malicious and seditious publication reflecting upon the magistrates. The press, tools, and type of Bradford were seized, and were not returned to him until 1693, when Governor Fletcher was in power. Bradford ably conducted his own defence, and the verdict was against the defendants, but it is uncertain as to any punishment or fine having been inflicted.

"Keith and Thomas Budd were also tried for defaming Judge Jennings, convicted, and fined five pounds each, but the fine does not seem to have been paid." [John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time* (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart Co., 1927), III, 59-60.]

"Several of Keith's party were apprehended and imprisoned with Bradford; and among them, Thomas Budd and John Macomb. The offence of the latter consisted in his having two copies of the address (which Bradford had printed), which he gave to two friends in compliance with their request." The warrant for committing "William Bradford, printer, and John Macomb, tailor," was signed Aug. 24, 1692; and it was based "upon an information of publishing, uttering, and spreading a malicious and seditious paper, entitled, an Appeal from the twenty-eight judges to the Spirits of the Truth, &c., Tending to the disturbance of the peace and the subversion of the present government." [John F. Watson, *op. cit.*, I, 544.]

<sup>97-a</sup>Probably GEORGE BALFOUR (d. 1732), who was elected a vestryman of Narragansett Church, April 14, 1718, and died March 15, 1732. "A gentleman much beloved and heartily lamented by all who knew him." He was buried under his own pew in St. Paul's Church, Narragansett. [Wilkins Updike, *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, R. I.*, 1847, pp. 40, 125.]

<sup>98</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>99</sup>GURDON SALTONSTALL (1666-1724), minister and colonial governor. Born, Haverhill, Mass., March 27, 1666. Son of the Hon. Nathaniel Saltonstall and Elizabeth Ward. A. B., Harvard College, 1684; A. M. Ordained minister of the church at New London, Conn., Nov. 25, 1691. Settled, New London, Conn., 1687-1701. Rose to a high position among

the clergy. Frequently consulted by Gov. Winthrop in drafting state papers, &c.

On Dec. 17, 1707, the assembly at a special meeting asked Saltonstall to leave the pulpit and become governor. He faced the usual problems of his time, e. g., warfare with the French and Indians and boundary disputes. Displayed poise. In 1708, the Saybrook Platform was drawn up, which set the course for Connecticut Congregationalism for generations to come. Under Saltonstall's leadership, the Connecticut Assembly affirmed the Platform. One of the leaders of the movement that led to the chartering of the Collegiate School (Yale) in 1701. Conservative. Died, New London, Conn., Sept. 20, 1724. [Frederick L. Weis, *The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England*, Lancaster, Mass., 1936, p. 181; Leonard W. Labaree, "Gurdon Saltonstall," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 317-318.]

<sup>100</sup>"But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his."—Romans viii, 9.

<sup>101</sup>JOHN WINTHROP (1638-1707), soldier, governor of Connecticut. Born, March 14, 1638, at Ipswich, Mass. Son of the second John Winthrop. Entered Harvard. Engaged in military campaigns in Scotland and England. Member of the Royal Society. Returned to Connecticut. Made his home in New London. Deputy to the General Assembly (1671, 1678). Chief military officer for the New London Company (1672). Served in the Indian wars of 1675-1676. Spent much time in Massachusetts (1676-1686). After Andros' defeat, returned to Connecticut. Elected assistant of the governor of Connecticut (1689). Active in military service (1690). Preferred against Gov. Jacob Leisler of New York grave charges. Made diplomatic mission to England. Governor of Connecticut (1698-1707). Died, Nov. 27, 1707. [Roland Mather Hooker, "John Winthrop, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 413-414.]

<sup>102</sup>New York became a British possession in 1664, being granted to the duke of York. The religious state of the colonists towards the close of the 17th century may be gathered from a letter addressed to the S. P. G. by Col. Caleb Heathcote in 1704 [S. P. G., A1, p. 182], regarding the county of West Chester, when he first arrived there, about twelve years before:

"I found it the most rude and Heathenish Country I ever saw in my whole Life, which called themselves Christians, there being not so much as the least marks or Footsteps of Religion of any Sort. *Sundays* being the only Time sett apart by them for all manner of vain Sports and lewd Diversions, and they were grown to such a Degree of Rudeness that it was intollerable, and having then the command of the Militia, I sent an order to all Captains, requiring them to call their Men under Arms, and to acquaint them, that in Case they would not in every Town agree amongst themselves to appoint Readers and pass the Sabbath in the best Manner they could, till such Times as they could be better provided, that they should every Sunday call their Companies under arms, and spend the Day in Exercise; whereupon it was unanimously agreed on thro' the county, to make Choice of Readers, which they accordingly did, and continued in those Methods for some time."

[*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, p. 57.]

No attempt towards a settlement of the Church of England appears to have been made until 1693, when, because "Profaneness and Licentiousness had overspread the Province for want of a settled Ministry throughout the same, it was ordained by Act of Assembly that Six Protestant

Ministers should be appointed therein." [Nicholas Trott, *Laws of the British Plantations*, p. 263; *Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, p. 57.] This Act did not begin to operate till 1698, when a Church of England church was built in the city of New York, and the vestry appointed thereto the Rev. William Vesey conditionally on his obtaining ordination in England. For fifty years he continued rector of Trinity Church. [*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, p. 57.]

In 1701, the population of New York province was 25,000, distributed in 25 towns, about ten of them Dutch and the rest English. [*Appendix, S. P. G. Journal A*, p. 17.]

In 1701, Long Island was "a great place" with "many Inhabitants." The Dutch had some "Calvinistical congregations." "The English some of them Independents but many of them had no Religion, but like wild Indians." There appeared to be "no Church of England in all Long Island, nor in all that great Continent of New York Province, except at New York town." [*Appendix, S. P. G. Journal A*, p. 30.]

<sup>103</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>104</sup>One Gibbs appears in a bond, Oct. 15, 1700. [*Oyster Bay Town Records* (New York: Thos. A. Wright, 1924), II, "1691-1704," 484-485.]

<sup>105</sup>The Rev. JOHN THOMAS, S. P. G. missionary, was stationed at Hempstead and Oyster Bay, Long Island (1704-1724). As a deacon, Thomas had been the schoolmaster and assistant to Evan Evans, Christ Church, Philadelphia. Priested, 1704. [See *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XVI (1947), 339, 339n. *Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, p. 58.] See Note 113.

<sup>106</sup>The name of Edward White of Oyster Bay appears in various land conveyances from 1694 to 1704. [*Oyster Bay Town Records* (New York: Thos. A. Wright, 1924), II, "1691-1704," 164, 170, 214, 242, 246, 284, 444, 480, 498, 555, 611, 640.]

<sup>107</sup>See Note 38, *supra*.

<sup>108</sup>FLUSHING, LONG ISLAND, at the head of Flushing Bay, was settled in 1644 by a company of English nonconformists, who had probably been residents of Flushing in Holland, from which the new place took its name. Subsequently a large number of Quakers settled there; and in 1672 George Fox spent some time in the township. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, X, 578.]

<sup>109</sup>WILLIAM VESEY (1674-1746), Church of England clergyman. Born, Braintree, Mass., Aug. 10, 1674. Son of Ensign William Veazie and Mary, his wife. A. B., Harvard College, 1693; A. M. Studied theology under the Rev. Samuel Myles of Boston. A. M., Oxford University, 1697. Ordained, London, England, Aug. 16, 1697. On his return to America, became first rector of Trinity Church, New York, which was opened for public worship, March 13, 1698. Rector of Trinity Church (1697-1746). Appointed Commissary (1712). Preached often at Boston, at King's Chapel. Had a very active and laborious ministry. His work grew fast and diverse. One of the New York newspapers said at his death, which occurred in that city, July 18, 1746:

"He conscientiously performed the duties of his office, with unwearied diligence and uncommon abilities, to the general satisfaction and applause of all. And as he had been a great instrument in promoting the building and settlement of that church (when there were but a few of the established religion here), so, by the blessing of God upon his pious and earnest endeavours, he had the satisfaction to see his congregation from time to time

increase, the building enlarged and beautified, and now at last the inward pleasure of leaving in peace and good order one of the largest and finest churches in America, with a very considerable congregation."

[Wm. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, 1859, pp. 13-17; Frederick L. Weis, *The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England*, Lancaster, Mass., 1936, p. 211.]

<sup>110</sup>The Rev. WILLIAM URQUHART, a Scot, was sent by the S. P. G. to Jamaica after the Rev. Patrick Gordon's death. He served 1704-1709, when he died. [*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, pp. 60, 856.]

<sup>111</sup>MILES FORESTER of Perth Amboy; his name first appears on the provincial records of East Jersey in 1684, as deputy to William Haige, the receiver and surveyor general. He was appointed collector and receiver of the customs of the port of Amboy by Gov. Dongan, Nov. 26, 1687. Resided in New York (1687), and became a merchant there. Appointed one of the executors of Col. Lewis Morris, father of Gov. Morris, in 1690. Owned several lots in Amboy. Built the first sloop launched at Amboy. Died, 1710. [William A. Whitehead, *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy and Adjoining Country* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1856), pp. 46, 295.]

<sup>112</sup>Col. West, a benefactor of the Quakers, who died in New York and sent for George Keith to visit him on his deathbed.

<sup>113</sup>JOHN THOMAS: "Success attended the labours of the Rev. J[ohn] Thomas at Hempsted and Oyster Bay, in Long Island, 1704-24. In this district the people had been 'wholly unacquainted with the blessed Sacrament for five and fifty years together.' As they had 'lived so long in the disuse of it,' Mr. Thomas 'struggled with great difficulties to make them sensible of the want and necessity of it'; but in 1709 he had 'five and thirty of them in full communion with the Church which (once) were innocent that Communion was a duty,' and 'the most numerous of any country congregation within this or the neighbouring colonies.'"—[*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, p. 58.]

John Thomas had been a schoolmaster in 1703. He was recommended to the S. P. G. by the Rev. John Talbot and others; and returned to England for ordination. [HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, VIII, 315-316, XVI, 182; William Stevens Perry, *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania*, 1871, pp. 17, 18, 19, 20, 27, 33, 34, 35.]

<sup>114</sup>"But one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her."—St. Luke x, 42.

<sup>115</sup>"Is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? let him sing psalms."—St. James v, 13.

<sup>116</sup>PERTH AMBOY, NEW JERSEY, is at the mouth of the Raritan river. It was founded in 1683; and first called Amboy after the original Indian name. In 1684, the proprietors named it Perth in honour of James, earl of Perth (1648-1716), one of their number. A few years later, the two names were combined. From 1686 until the end of the proprietary government, in 1702, Perth Amboy was the capital of the province of East Jersey; and during the period of royal government, the general assembly and supreme court of New Jersey met alternately there and at Burlington. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XXI, 261.] From the minutes of the Council of Proprietors of East Jersey, held March 31, 1702, it was agreed and ordered that a patent be granted for the Church lot in proper form, i. e., for the Church of England. At the Council of the



Proprietors of the Province of East Jersey, Dec. 10, 1698, "upon petition of George Willocks for buying off y<sup>e</sup> quit rents of two lotts of his in Perth Amboy agreed and ordered that he pay three pounds for y<sup>e</sup> sale to Mr Forster towards repairing y<sup>e</sup> present church untill y<sup>e</sup> new church be built—and that Mr Forster himself do also pay three pounds towards y<sup>e</sup> sale use for buying off y<sup>e</sup> quit rents of his own lott on which he lives." This was signed by Gov. Bass and five others, including John Barclay and John Reid. [William Northey Jones, *The History of St. Peter's Church, in Perth Amboy, N. J.*, p. 19.]

<sup>117</sup>NEW JERSEY had been acquired by the English (1664), and granted to the Duke of York, who transferred it to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. It was divided into two districts—East Jersey and West Jersey. In 1702, it was surrendered to Queen Anne, when the name of New Jersey was resumed for the whole country. The earliest English settlers were Quakers and Anabaptists. It was by two members of these persuasions that an attempt to settle a maintenance in 1697 was defeated. [*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, p. 52; *Appendix to S. P. G. Journal A*, pp. 1-11.]

In 1701, Col. Morris represented to the S. P. G. that "the youth of the whole Province" of East Jersey were "very debauch'd and very ignorant, and the Sabbath Day seems there to be set apart for Ryoting and Drunkenness. In a word a General Ignorance and Immorality runs through the whole Province." [*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, p. 52.] The inhabitants of Middletown, Col. Morris described as "perhaps the most ignorant and wicked people in the world; their meetings on Sundays is at the publick house where they get their fill of rum and go to fighting, and running of races which are practices much in use that day all the province over." [*Ibid.*]

At Perth Amboy, "a shift" had been made "to patch up an old ruinous house, and make a Church of it, and when all the Churchmen in the Province" of East Jersey were "gott together," they made up "about 12 Communicants." [*ibid.*]

In West Jersey, the people were "generally speaking . . . a hotch potch of all religions," but the Quakers appeared to be the only body possessing places of worship. The youth of this province were "very debauch . . . and very ignorant." [*Ibid.*]

The population of the two provinces numbered about 11,000. According to George Keith, "except in two or three towns . . . no place of any public worship of any sort," but people lived "very mean like Indians." [*Ibid.*] In February, 1702, the S. P. G. came to a resolution that three missionaries should be sent to the Jerseys "with all convenient speed," and that the governor should be asked "to divide the Governments into parishes and to lay out glebe lands in each parish." [*S. P. G. Journal*, Vol. I, Feb. 27, 1702.]

John Talbot, who was stationed at Burlington (1705-1724), became the first resident missionary to New Jersey.

<sup>118</sup>See Note 38, *supra*.

<sup>119</sup>JOHN BARCLAY, brother of Gov. Robert Barclay of East Jersey, came to America about the time of the purchase of the 24 proprietaries of East Jersey. Returned to England (1683). In 1684 or 1685, he again came to East Jersey. Resided at Elizabethtown and Plainfield; became a resident of Amboy about 1688. In January, 1688/9, appointed deputy surveyor general under George Keith. Succeeded him as surveyor general, being appointed April 6, 1692. Appointed deputy secretary and register, Aug. 6, 1698. Made register of the Court of Chancery and one of the commissioners of the Court of Small Causes. Clerk of the County Court of Common Right (1700), of the Supreme Court, and Court of Session. Represented Amboy in the Assembly

(1704). For some years before his death, in humble circumstances. Held the clerkship of St. Peter's Church at a salary of £15 *per annum*. Died in the spring of 1731, "with the character of a good neighbour and useful citizen." [William A. Whitehead, *Contribution to the Early History of Perth Amboy and Adjoining Country* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1856), pp. 42-43.]

<sup>120</sup>On Aug. 24, 1674, Matappeas, Tawapung, and Seapeckne, "Chief Sachems of Toponomese," sold to John Bowne, Richard Hartshorne, James Grover of Middletown, "in Consideration of Sundry Species of Trading Goods," "a certain tract of Land" upon the Navesink river. [Liber I of East Jersey Deeds, in office of the Secretary of State; quoted by John E. Stillwell, M. D., *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany, Early Settlers of New Jersey and their Descendants* (New York), III, 254-255.]

<sup>121</sup>"And being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him."—Hebrews v, 9.

<sup>122</sup>THOMAS BOEL (also spelt Bole) is mentioned in a description of 200 acres of land in Monmouth county, New Jersey, sold by Capt. Richard Slater, of the township of Freehold, June 9, 1709-10. [John E. Stillwell, M. D., *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany, Early Settlers of New Jersey and their Descendants* (New York, 1916), IV, 180.] He is listed as a Patentee (Monmouth county, New Jersey), Dec. 24, 1697. [John E. Stillwell, *op. cit.* (1906), II, 384.]

<sup>123</sup>"Quench not the Spirit."—I Thessalonians v. 19.

<sup>124</sup>See Note 46, *supra*.

<sup>125</sup>"But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction.

"And many shall follow their pernicious ways; by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of."—2 St. Peter ii, 1-2.

<sup>126</sup>"Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat."—St. Matthew vii, 13.

<sup>127</sup>For early history of Navesink, see John E. Stillwell, M. D., *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany, Early Settlers of New Jersey and their Descendants* (New York), III, 247-251.

<sup>128</sup>ALEXANDER INNES (d. 1713), Church of England clergyman. Came to Middletown, New Jersey, in 1680. Chaplain at New York. Commissioned, April 20, 1686. Received Royal Bounty, June 25, 1686. Left by August 20, 1689, but was in New York for a meeting of Anglican clergymen in November, 1702. Died, 1713. [Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1938), pp. 5, 101; *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XIII, 11; XVI, 92, 181.]

<sup>129</sup>JAMES JOHNSTON, of Monmouth county, New Jersey, on Oct. 16, 1690, sold to Hannah Grover for £14 New York money some land (described). [John E. Stillwell, M. D., *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany, Early Settlers of New Jersey and their Descendants* (New York), III, 262.]

John Johnston is listed as a Patentee (Monmouth county, New Jersey), June 7, 1701. [John E. Stillwell, M. D., *op. cit.*, II, 381, 384, 385.]

<sup>130</sup>JOHN REID (also READ and REED), of Hortensie, Monmouth county, New Jersey, acted as attorney for Robert Barclay of Ury in Scotland in conveying land, Aug. 10, 1688, to William Lawrence of Middleton. [John E. Stillwell, M. D., *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany, Early Settlers of New Jersey and their Descendants* (New York, 1914), III 395.] He was witness to the marriage of Robert Ray to Jenett Hamton, both of Shrewsbury, Nov. 9, 1689, or Feb. 10, 1690. [John E. Stillwell, M. D., *op. cit.* (1903), I, 244.] He is mentioned as one of the road commissioners of Monmouth county, March 7, 1714. [*Ibid.*, III, 402.] In 1703, Captain John Bowne, Richard Salter, William Lawrence, and others successfully contested the seats of Col. Townley, Mr. John Reid, and others in the First Assembly. [*Ibid.*, III, 44.]

<sup>131</sup>BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY, is on the east bank of the Delaware river, 18 miles northeast of Philadelphia. It was settled in 1677 by a colony of English Quakers. The settlement was first known as New Beverley, but was soon renamed after Bridlington (Burlington), the Yorkshire home of many of the settlers. In 1682, the Assembly of West Jersey gave to Burlington "Matinicum Island" above the town, "for the maintaining of a school for the education of youth." Burlington was incorporated as a town in 1693; and became the seat of government of West Jersey. On the union of East and West Jersey (1702), it became one of the two seats of government of the new royal province, the meetings of the legislature alternating generally between Burlington and Perth Amboy. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., IV, 837.]

For the ministry of the Rev. John Talbot at Burlington, see Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1938), pp. 36-65.

<sup>132</sup>"John. 27. 3" should be "John 17. 3." See Note 30, *supra*.

<sup>133</sup>ANDREW HAMILTON (d. 1703), governor of East and West Jersey; deputy governor of Pennsylvania. The last of the proprietary governors of the Jerseys. A merchant in Scotland, he moved (1689) to the province. Became deputy governor of both East and West Jersey. His administration turbulent, through opposition to the proprietary government. Wise and moderate. On April 15, 1702, the proprietors of both East and West Jersey surrendered their political rights to the crown, though retaining the titles. Lord Cornbury of New York became royal governor. Hamilton became deputy to William Penn in Pennsylvania. He organized the American postal system. Deputy postmaster-general of America. Died at Perth Amboy, April 26, 1703. [Edwin R. Tanner, "Andrew Hamilton," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 180-181.]

<sup>134</sup>The Rev. EVAN EVANS (1671-1721) was rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, at the time of George Keith's visit; and the Rev. John Thomas [see Notes 105 and 113, *supra*] was schoolmaster and assistant to Mr. Evans.

Since the introduction of the Church of England into the new settlement, originally predominantly Quaker, there had been rapid progress by the year 1703. In a letter from the Rev. Edward Portlock to the archbishop of Canterbury, written from Philadelphia, July 12, 1700, we read:

"I cannot but with joy acquaint your Grace what a considerable progress the Church of England has made in this one Province, insomuch that in less than four years space from a very small number her community consists of more than five hundred sober and devout souls in and about this city. Notwithstanding all the discouragement and opposition we continually meet with. My Lord, the building of our church here (which cost more than £600), lay only upon some particular persons;

it now (by the blessing of God) wants either to be enlarged or rebuilt." [William Stevens Perry, *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania* (1871), p. 16.]

<sup>135</sup>"And account that the longsuffering of our Lord is salvation: even as our beloved Paul also according to the wisdom given unto him hath written unto you;

"As also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction."—2 St. Peter v. 15-16.

<sup>136</sup>During the week of Nov. 9, 1702, seven Anglican clergymen met in New York to consider the state of the Church in Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey, and New York. Through the generosity of Col. Francis Nicholson, the Rev. Evan Evans of Philadelphia and the Rev. Alexander Innes of New Jersey were able to attend. A scheme of the state of the Church in those parts was drawn up and sent to the S. P. G. Keith alludes to the meeting in his letter of Nov. 29, 1702. [S. P. G. A1, No. 1, Library of Congress transcript.]

<sup>137</sup>FRANCIS NICHOLSON (1655-1728), colonial governor. Born in Yorkshire. Served in the army in Tangier; and as captain of a company of foot-soldiers, sent to New England under Sir Edmund Andros. Member of the Council for the dominion of New England. Commissioned lieutenant governor and stationed in New York at the time of the Revolution in 1688.

Lieutenant governor of Virginia (1690-1692). His most enduring service to Virginia was the support and financial assistance he gave to Commissary James Blair in the founding of William and Mary College.

Governor of Maryland (1694-1698). In Maryland, as elsewhere, he labored to advance the cause of the English Church and of education. He encouraged the building of schools and churches both by appeals to the assemblies and by generous gifts from his own pocket. Became involved in bitter personal quarrels in Maryland, during which he lost much of his earlier popularity.

Governor of Virginia (1698-1705). His violent temper led to an estrangement with Commissary Blair. He was the leading spirit in the removal of the capital from Jamestown, Va., to Williamsburg. Greatly improved the provincial finances; made the local administration more efficient.

Took part in a joint attack upon Canada and Port Royal (1709-1710). Governor general of Nova Scotia (1713). Appointed governor of South Carolina (1720). Retired because of ill health in 1725. At his death, left most of his property to the S. P. G. [George Maclaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church*, pp. 306-307.]

<sup>138</sup>George Keith forwarded to the S. P. G. "Some Account of the generous benefactions of Colonel Francis Nicholson, Governor of Virginia, for the building of Churches in several parts of North America in the years 1702 & 1703 where no churches had been formally built and also of his other pious benefactions within that time." The total was given at £734; and the list of Gov. Nicholson's gifts is impressive. [S. P. G. Manuscript, "Virginia," pp. 47-50; 34-35; second copy, pp. 43-46; photofilm in Library of Congress.]

<sup>139</sup>See Note 23, *supra*.

<sup>140</sup>"But God be thanked, that ye were the servants of sin, but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine which was delivered you. "Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness."—Romans vi, 17-18.

<sup>141</sup>EDWARD HYDE, Viscount Cornbury (1661-1723), colonial governor. Son of Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon and historian of the Civil War. First cousin to Queen Anne. Educated at Geneva. Came under the influence of John Churchill, later duke of Marlborough; he was one of the first officers of the army to defeat James II at the Revolution. Ingratiated himself with William and Mary. Appointed governor of New York and New Jersey; arrived at his post, May 3, 1702. Received with great deference. Seems to have been a drunkard, bigot, spendthrift, and oppressor. Threw his influence toward the aristocratic anti-Leislerian faction in New York. Graft and fraud prospered. Devoted to the Church of England. Seized the church at Jamaica from the Presbyterians; unjustly punished Francis Mackemie, a Presbyterian minister. His administration in New Jersey was even more discreditable. Recalled, December, 1708. Member of the Privy Council (1717). Detested in America. Died, April 1, 1723. [Edwin P. Tanner, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 441-442.]

<sup>142</sup>About this time (Nov. 24, 1702), the Rev. John Talbot, travelling companion of Keith's, wrote to the Rev. Richard Gillingham, vicar of Chigwell in Essex, that he and Keith had travelled already over 500 miles, visiting churches from New Hampshire to Philadelphia, and had preached in all the churches where they went and in several dissenting meeting-houses, and had baptized several whom Keith had brought over from Quakerism. The Indians were reported as disposed to embrace the Gospel; and it was hoped that the Church would measure up to its opportunity, since the Roman Catholics were industrious in their efforts to win the Indians. Keith is described as "the fittest man that ever came over for this Province, . . . a well study'd Divine, a good Philosopher & Preacher, but above all an excellent Disputant, especially against the Quakers. . . . In short, he's become the best Champion ag<sup>st</sup> all Dissenters that the Church ever had, & has Sett up Such a Light in these dark places that by God's Blessing will not be putt out." Talbot emphasizes the need of a bishop "to visit all the Churches, to ordain some to confirm others & bless all." Personally he has no inclination to return to England; he has had many places offered him, but has not decided where to settle. [S. P. G., AI, No. lvi; Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1938), pp. 85-87.]

<sup>143</sup>See Note 27, *supra*.

<sup>144</sup>"Not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; because they continued not in my covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord.

"For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people.

"And they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest.

"For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more."—Hebrews viii, 9-12.

<sup>145</sup>The story of Balaam is told in Numbers xxii-xxiii. Balak, king of the Moabites, sent the prophet Balaam to curse the children of Israel and thus check their victories. Balaam started on his mission; but the ass which he was riding turned aside at the appearance of the angel of the Lord and refused to go forward. Balaam sees the vision himself, and returns to Balak, saying:

"How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed? or how shall I defy, whom the Lord hath not defied?"

Instead of a curse, he pronounces a blessing on the Israelites to Balak's great discomfiture.

<sup>146</sup>One of those whom George Whitehead sought to answer in his controversial writings.

<sup>147</sup>Another object of George Whitehead's discussions.

<sup>148</sup>John Whiting, *Judas and the Chief Priests* (London, 1701). In 1700 and 1701, Keith had held great meetings at Turners Hall. To detect and discover "the Quakers' gross Errors and Anti-Christian Principles, plainly repugnant to the Fundamentals of Christianity." John Whiting, the Quaker controversialist, regarded Keith as an apostate and a traitor to the Friends. The "Chief Priests" referred to the six Anglican clergymen who sat on the platform with Keith at the meetings. [Ethyn Williams Kirby, *George Keith* (New York and London: D. Appleton Co., 1942), p. 117.]

<sup>149</sup>See Note 16, *supra*.

<sup>150</sup>See Note 38, *supra*.

<sup>151</sup>"Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city."—Revelation xxii, 14.

<sup>152</sup>"And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.

"For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord."—St. Luke ii, 10-11.

<sup>153</sup>See Note 144, *supra*.

<sup>154</sup>Jan. 1, 1703 (New Style) is Jan. 1, 1702 (Old Style). Until March 25, 1703, the date "1702" is used by Keith. In the year 1752, the commencement of the legal year became effective on Jan. 1 instead of March 25, in accordance with the Calendar Act of 1750. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., IV, 999-1000.]

<sup>155</sup>"And the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord.

"As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord; My spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever."—Isaiah lix, 20-21.

<sup>156</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>157</sup>WILLIAM LEEDS, Sr., of Monmouth county, New Jersey, resided at Shrewsbury and Middletown, and afterwards at Little Egg Harbor. He came with his wife Mary and other relatives from England. He was a member of the Society of Friends; but afterwards became an Anglican. In the vestibule of Christ Church, Shrewsbury, there is a tablet in memory of William Leeds, "a Benefactor with George Keith and Gov. Lewis Morris, in founding this Church in Monmouth county in 1702." [John E. Stillwell, M. D., *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany, Early Settlers of New Jersey and their Descendants* (New York), II, 50; III, 446-447; IV, 318.]



<sup>158</sup>This statement refers in all probability to Mary Napper and her daughters, Margaret, Rebecca, and Elizabeth, who were baptized at Freehold, N. J., Oct. 18, 1702, according to the parish register of St. Ann's Church, Burlington. [John E. Stillwell, M. D., *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany, Data relating to the Settlements and Settlers of New York and New Jersey* (New York, 1906), II, 50.]

<sup>159</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>160</sup>"But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you."—St. Matthew vi, 33.

<sup>161</sup>That all the inhabitants of Philadelphia by no means rejoiced at the visit of the former Quaker teacher is evident from the following letter, written by one Isaac Norris (Sept. 8, 1702):

"George Keith hath been twice here, but has not yet disturbed our meeting as hath been his custom to the eastward. He is now the talk and news of the town, but has little to boast of in all his progress hitherto. His own party is like to fall with him. All his sermons are railings against the Friends."

[John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time* (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart Co., 1927), I, 500.]

<sup>162</sup>"Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."—St. John iii, 5.

<sup>163</sup>"Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil."—St. Matthew v. 17.

<sup>164</sup>EVAN EVANS (1671-1721), Anglican clergyman. Born in Carnoe, Montgomery county, Wales, 1671. B. A., Brasenose College, Oxford (1695); M. A., B. D., D. D. (1714). Sent to Philadelphia by the bishop of London in 1700. Received the King's Bounty, July 5, 1700. The church had been built in Philadelphia in 1695, and had a congregation of about fifty, who were said to have left the Quakers under the preaching of George Keith. About a year after the church was built, the Rev. Thomas Clayton was sent to minister there. The congregation increased to 700 under Clayton in about two years. Clayton died about two years after his arrival of a contagious fever, caught while visiting the sick. Before two years of Evans' ministry were passed, 500 new members had been added to his church. William III gave a grant. Several congregations in nearby communities were formed as a result of Evans' influence. He visited those places frequently—Chester, Oxford, &c. Returned to England for two years in 1709. Compelled in 1711 to enlarge his church-building. On another trip to England, he received the doctor's degree. Resigned his parish, but became missionary to Oxford and Radnor (1718). Moved to Maryland (St. George's parish, Spesutia Church). Died, Oct. 1721. [William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, 1859, pp. 22-25; *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 108; *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XVI, 331.]

<sup>165</sup>"But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup."—1 Corinthians xi, 28.

<sup>166</sup>CHESTER (also called Uplands), Pennsylvania. There the Rev. Henry Nichols was sent by the S. P. G. in 1703. He was the first resident S. P. G. missionary in Pennsylvania. [*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, pp. 34, 852.] [See William Stevens Perry, *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania*, 1871, pp. 78-80.]

<sup>167</sup>"And I say also unto thee, That thou are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."—St. Matthew xvi, 18.

<sup>168</sup>Should be Concord.

<sup>169</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>170</sup>THOMAS POWELL appears as one of the benefactors of the Church in Chester, in the "Account or History of the Building of St Paul's Church in Chester," sent by the Rev. George Ross, June 21, 1714; in fact he is described as "y<sup>e</sup> principal supporter of the Ministry here, for y<sup>e</sup> further encouraging of which in the place he has of late given a valuable piece of ground for a Minister's house; garden & other conveniences, too long to be inserted in this paper." [William Stevens Perry, *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania*, 1871, p. 79.]

<sup>171</sup>There are several references to the large number of Anabaptists in Pennsylvania in the letters of the Anglican clergymen.

Mr. Killingworth had been brought from forty miles away to dispute with Keith, and the argument had lasted four hours. "It has had good Effects," said Keith, "and it's hoped will have more." [S. P. G., A1, No. lxxxvii, Library of Congress Transcript.] The Anabaptists were fairly numerous.

The Rev. John Clubb of Oxford, Pa., requested of the secretary of the S. P. G. some books which he might use in controversies "between us and the Quakers, Anabaptists and Sabatarians, for such our neighbors are in abundance." He added that "many of those Anabaptists come frequently to church and I hope in a little time I shall prevail with them to come constantly, and have their families baptized. Some of their children I have catechised publicly already in the church, and do give a tolerable account of their faith, and they scruple not so much Baptism even of Indians as they do the circumstances of it, but there are others perverse and obstinate to all the arguments you can use." [July 24, 1710; William Stevens Perry, *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania*, 1871, p. 60.]

<sup>172</sup>The Antinomians maintained that the moral law is not binding on Christians under the law of grace.

<sup>173</sup>"If I have made gold my hope, or have said to the fine gold, Thou art my confidence."—Job xxxi, 24.

<sup>174</sup>"But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway."—Romans ix, 27.

<sup>175</sup>"Let us therefore fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it."—Hebrews iv, 1.

<sup>176</sup>"What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us?"—Romans viii, 31.

<sup>177</sup>"Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come:

"That Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should shew light unto the people, and to the Gentiles."—Acts xxxi, 22-23.

<sup>178</sup>See Note 16, *supra*.

<sup>179</sup>ROBERT WHEELER appears as one of the executors of the will of Edward Hunlock or Hunloke, merchant, of Burlington, N. J., proved Aug. 8, 1702. [John E. Stillwell, M. D., *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany, Early Settlers of New Jersey and their Descendants* (New York, 1914), III, 47.]

George Keith baptized, Feb. 22, 1702/3, "Rebekah Wheeler & her children, John (.) Rebekah, Robert & Mary." [John E. Stillwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany: Data relating to the settlements of New York and New Jersey* (New York, 1906), II, 50.]

<sup>180</sup>See Note 163, *supra*.

<sup>181</sup>William Penn, *The Sandy Foundation Shaken*, 1688.

<sup>182</sup>WILLIAM SOUTHEY was one of a group who applied for a charter for the Friends' School in Philadelphia, of which George Keith was master (1689-1690). On Oct. 25, 1701, William Penn confirmed the charter. [John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania in the Olden Times* (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart Co., 1927), III, 161.] In 1712, William Southbe (*sic*) applied to the Assembly for a law for the declaration of freedom to all Negroes. The House resolved that "it is neither just or convenient to set them at liberty." [John F. Watson, *op. cit.*, I, 97.] William Southbe died, July 7, 1722. [William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Bros., Inc., 1938), II, 422.]

<sup>183</sup>1 Corinthians xv contains St. Paul's famous discussion of the resurrection of Christ and of man.

<sup>184</sup>ARIUS (died 336), deacon of Alexandria. He denied that the Son (the second Person of the Trinity) is coeternal and coessential with the Father, and maintained that He is essentially a created being. Condemned at the Council of Nicaea (325). Exiled to Illyricum. His teachings embodied in Arianism spread rapidly and widely.

<sup>185</sup>SABELLIUS (fl. 230), African ecclesiastic. Dissented from the orthodox creed in respect to the Trinity. Taught that there is only one *hypostasis* or person in the Divine Being; that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three modes of manifestation of the one Divine Being; and thus denied the reality of three Persons in the Godhead. His heresy is called Sabellianism, and his followers Sabellians.

<sup>186</sup>NESTORIUS was born in Syria near the end of the 4th century. Patriarch of Constantinople (428). Objected to calling the Virgin the mother of God. Condemned by the Council of Ephesus (431). Banished to Egypt in 435, and died in 450.

<sup>187</sup>EUTYCHES (b. 375?-d. 456?) taught that there is only one nature in Christ—the Divine. Condemned by the Council of Constantinople (448). His opinion was adopted by the Empress Eudocia and others. The Council of Ephesus (449) reversed the decision in his favour. In 451, he was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon. The Monophysites were derived from his teaching.

<sup>188</sup>PELAGIUS (c. 360-420), a Christian monk, was probably a native of Britain. He maintained that the effects of Adam's first sin were confined to himself, and that man's salvation depends on his own exertions. His maxim: "If I ought, I can." His teaching, which undermined the doctrine of divine grace, was bitterly opposed by Augustine. Pelagius was condemned.

<sup>189</sup>See Note 42, *supra*.

<sup>190</sup>WILLIAM DAVIS, formerly a Keithian Quaker, became a Baptist. [Ethyn Williams Kirby, *George Keith* (New York and London: D. Appleton Co., 1942), p. 93.]

<sup>191</sup>See Note 37, *supra*.

<sup>192</sup>See Note 38, *supra*.

<sup>193</sup>NEW CASTLE, DELAWARE, at the head of Delaware Bay, was still part of Pennsylvania at the time of Keith's visit in 1703. In 1651, Gov. Peter Stuyvesant of New Netherland established near the place Fort Casimir, as the first determined move in his aggressive policy against the Swedes, who had settled in this vicinity about 1640. The Swedes captured the fort in 1654; but this precipitated the crisis in which New Sweden (Delaware) was lost to the Dutch in 1655. Fort Casimir (renamed Fort Amstel) was made the seat of government of the local Dutch possessions, and in 1657 was placed under the jurisdiction of the City of Amsterdam, under which it remained, though prospering little—disease, famine, and fears of English attack causing most of the inhabitants to leave it in 1658 and 1659—until just before the English seized the settlements in Delaware in 1664. Under the English the name was changed to New Castle; and trade and commerce prospered. Immanuel Church was partially built in 1689. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XIX, 472.] The Rev. George Ross (1679-1754) was S. P. G. missionary at New Castle (1705-1708).

For an account of the English Church in Delaware, see Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *The Anglican Church in Delaware* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1947), and for the New Castle Mission, *ibid.*, pp. 5-31.

<sup>194</sup>See Note 123, *supra*.

<sup>195</sup>"But ye beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost."—Jude 20.

<sup>196</sup>The Rev. JOHN TALBOT had just written (April 10), from New Castle, a letter to the Rev. Richard Gillingham, of Chigwell in Essex, giving a description of New Castle, describing briefly the activities of himself and Keith, and outlining some of the needs of the people. New Castle impressed him as a "Pretty Town," but with "no Church as yet, neither ever was an Orthodox Minister Settled here, but one Mr Wilson a Presbyterian, that Preaches to the People in the Court House."

"The place," he said, "is very Pleasant and agreeable as most in American & would be very populous, but that there is no Settled Ministry nor Government, for what good does it do People to live in a Place void of Gospel & Law too, so that several People have moved and gone elsewhere to the Church, seeing the Church does not come to them."

He regarded the sending of Mr. Keith as a great advantage to the Church, largely, no doubt, because of his zeal in regard to the Quakers. "Since I came to be more acquainted with the Quakers," said Talbot, "I have much worse Opinion of them than ever I had." Yet the Quakers are trying to win the Indians to their faith. Talbot has assisted in laying the cornerstone of St. Mary's Church at Burlington. He wishes to thank the S. P. G. for the allowance of £60 *per annum*, and he urges the sending of ministers.

"I believe, I have been Solicited to tarry att 20 Places where they want much and are able to maintain a Minister. . . . they send to N. England, and call any sorry young men, purely for want of some good honest Clergy Men of the Church of Eng-

land. Many goe to the Heathen Meetings of the People called Quakers because there is no houses of God in their Provinces, till at last they come to be bewitched & forced out of their Faith & Senses too."

[S. P. G., A1, No. cxix; Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1938), pp. 87-90.]

<sup>197</sup>JAMES CLAYPOOLE (d. June 12, 1742), son of James Claypoole, is probably the one mentioned here. [William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Bros., Inc., 1938), II, 346.]

James Claypoole, likely the father, is mentioned as having come out with William Penn, and being among the earliest officers of the government of Pennsylvania. He was a merchant, a partner in the Free Traders Company, and a public character in Friends' Meetings. "He passed his first winter in a cave in the bank of Front Street, with his family and servants. In the spring following, he built his house, the same afterwards known as Rattle Snake Inn, No. 37, Walnut Street, north side, a few doors east of Second Street." [John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania in the Olden Times* (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart Co., 1927), I, 558.]

<sup>198</sup>Anglican services had been held in VIRGINIA since the planting of the colony in 1607. The Rev. Robert Hunt ministered to the first settlers at Jamestown, and the Rev. Alexander Whitaker earned the title of "Apostle to Virginia" by his devoted services to the second parish in the colony, Henrico Parish.

Gov. Thomas Dale's Laws, promulgated four years after the first colonists arrived, called upon the people to hear sermons and to frequent daily Morning and Evening Prayers, and provided severe penalties for unlawful oaths, disrespect of the clergy, failure to attend Divine services, and Sabbath breaking. All preachers and ministers were to preach every Sunday morning and to catechize in the evening, and to say prayers twice daily. They were also to choose four of the most religious and best-disposed persons in their parishes to inform them of the sins of the people and to keep up the church buildings, as well as to keep a record of all christenings, marriages, and deaths. Here we have the rudiments of a parish vestry. Every colonist was required to repair to the minister immediately upon his arrival and to inform him of his religious faith; religious instruction was made compulsory, on pain of whipping. These early laws were not enforced strictly; Gov. Argall (1618) revised them, substituting milder penalties.

The Virginia Assembly of 1619—the first representative assembly in America—required that a tract of farm land—a "glebe"—should be provided for a clergyman in every borough, and that each minister should have a fixed revenue from his parish. The Church of England never enjoyed in Virginia a complete establishment, such as existed in England, as it never was able to obtain any bishops or an adequate system of ecclesiastical courts.

In 1624, under Gov. Francis Wyatt, places of worship and burial grounds were ordered wherever the people were accustomed to assemble for religious services. Various ecclesiastical laws were enacted. Under Sir John Harvey (1629), severe penalties were provided for failure to observe the canons of the Church; and it was enacted that no minister be allowed to officiate without a certificate of his ordination by some bishop in England and without a promise to conform to the standards of the English Church. An act passed in 1642/43 contained the first specific reference to the institution of the vestry, which has become a characteristic feature of Episcopal Church government in America.

At the time of the Restoration, there were some fifty parishes legally established in Virginia; but the supply of ministers was scanty. The instructions received by Lord Culpeper when he came over as governor in 1679 directed that no ministers should henceforth be presented to any benefice unless he could produce a certificate of his conformity to the bishop of London. This was the first specific recognition, in the instructions of a governor of a continental colony, of the jurisdiction of the bishop of London. [William Wilson Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York and Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1935), pp. 6-18. For a comprehensive and detailed account, with valuable appendices, see George MacLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church* (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1947).]

<sup>199</sup>The financial support of the S. P. G. would not be required in colonies where the stipends of the clergy were fixed by law, as in Virginia and Maryland; but the Society was destined to play an important part in the choice of worthy ministers for those parts and to make recommendations to the bishop of London. Hence Keith's visit was significant.

Yorktown on the York river, ten miles from its mouth, had been founded in 1691 as a port of entry for York county. It became the county seat in 1696. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XXVIII, 936.] Quakers and Baptists had made considerable progress in the lower York river section before Keith's visit.

<sup>200</sup>"Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you."—St. John xx, 21.

<sup>201</sup>WILLIAMSBURG, originally named Middle Plantation from its position midway between the York and James rivers, was founded in 1632. It was immediately walled in, and for several years it served as a refuge from Indian attacks. On Aug. 3, 1676, Nathaniel Bacon held here his "rebel" assembly of the leading men of the province; and in Jan., 1677, two of the "rebels" were hanged there. In 1698, Middle Plantation was made the provincial capital; and in 1699 the present name was adopted in honor of King William III. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XXVIII, 684.]

The Rev. JAMES BLAIR, commissary of the bishop of London, served the Church in Williamsburg and wielded a wide influence over the colony, from his appointment in 1689 until his death in 1743. He brought back from one of his early visits to England a set of plans for the main building of the College of William and Mary, which he founded and of which he became the first president. These plans were a gift of the aged architect, Sir Christopher Wren. The General Assembly accepted the plans, and work began in earnest. The site selected was at Middle Plantation in Bruton Parish; and the name "Williamsburg" was given to the town proposed to be built around the college. The cornerstone of the college building was laid, Aug. 8, 1695. [George MacLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church* (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1947), p. 291; William Wilson Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York and Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1935), pp. 46-47; Edgar L. Pennington, *Commissary Blair* (Hartford, Conn.: Church Missions Publishing Co., publication No. 182).]

<sup>202</sup>"But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin."—1 St. John 1, 7.

<sup>203</sup>It was at JAMESTOWN that the first permanent English settlement in America was founded, May 13, 1607, that representative government was inaugurated on the American continent in 1619, and that Negro servi-



tude was introduced into the original colonies, also in 1619. In Jamestown was the first Anglican church built in America. The settlement was in a low marshy district which proved to be unhealthy; it was accidentally burned in Jan., 1608, and was almost completely destroyed by Nathaniel Bacon in Sept., 1676. The state house and other buildings were again burned in 1698; and after the removal of the seat of government of Virginia from Jamestown to the Middle Plantations (now Williamsburg) in 1699, the village fell rapidly into decay. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XV, 148.]

<sup>204</sup>"That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us: and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ."—1 St. John i, 3.

<sup>205</sup>KIRKETAN ("Kecoughtan," "Kequoghtan," "Keccowtan," "Kickotan," "Ketctin"). "The first movement of expansion out from Jamestown was the development of a settlement near the mouth of the James river at the Indian town of Kecoughtan (or Kickotan), in the neighbourhood of Fort Algernon already in existence at Point Comfort." From 1610 to 1620, it was chiefly an outpost of defence. It grew to be a town. It had ministers very early in its history. [George MacLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church* (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1947), p. 20.]

<sup>206</sup>"But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory even as by the Spirit of the Lord."—2 Corinthians iii, 18.

<sup>207</sup>On May 3, 1703, the Rev. John Talbot wrote to the Rev. Richard Gillingham, that at last they had arrived at the haven where they would be. "Mr Keith is got to his Daughter's House & I am got amongst my old Friends and Acquaintance in these parts." Many alterations had occurred in the ten years since he was there, and many old friends were dead; but he had found some new ones, especially Mr. Robert Beverly, who has one of the best houses and plantations in this country.

Mr. Talbot told of laying the first stone of the new church at Burlington, N. J., and commended Col. Francis Nicholson for his generous benefactions. He expressed great hopes of the Church at New Castle. He mentioned the plans to go by land to North Carolina, where Daniel Brett, a scandalous fellow, had done the Church more harm than good. He voiced the need of a great many good ministers in America; "but we had better have none at all than such Scandalous Beasts as some make them selves not only the worst of Ministers but of men."

"Some good Books would do very well." The people are sharp and inquisitive; they are not satisfied with Dr. Bray's method of commenting on the Church catechism. Some Common Prayer books of all sorts and sizes are desired, "with the 39 Articles & some books of Homilys to set up the Worship & Service of God till we have Ministers." Certain tracts and books were suggested.

"We want 1000 of them to dispose of in the way that we goe. I use to take a Wallet full of Books and carry them 100 Miles about and disperse them abroad and give them to all that desired 'em, w<sup>ch</sup> in due time will be of good Service to the Church, 'tis a Comfort to the People in the Wilderness to see that some body takes care of them."

Mr. Talbot stated that he has refused to take money from the people. He resolved to work with his hands rather than they should say he was a hireling and had come for money. Gov. Nicholson had generously taken care that nothing was wanting to him and Keith while

they were in his territories. The people in the country had been very kind. [S. P. G., A1, No. cxx; Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1938), pp. 90-94.]

<sup>208</sup>"He delivereth me from mine enemies; yea, thou liftest me up above those that rise up against me: thou hast delivered me from the violent man.

"Therefore will I give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the heathen, and sing praises unto thy name.—Psalms xviii, 48-49.

<sup>209</sup>The Rev. JAMES WALLACE was minister of Elizabeth City Parish (i. e., Hampton), Va., 1691-1701. [George MacLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church* (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1947), pp. 234; Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1938), p. 87.]

<sup>210</sup>"Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.

"But his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night.

"And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper."—Psalms i, 1-3.

<sup>211</sup>In 1701, NORTH CAROLINA contained at least 5,000 colonists, besides Negroes and Indians, all living without any minister or any form of public worship. Children had grown up unbaptized and uneducated. The dead were buried without any Christian form. The first Anglican clergyman sent over by Dr. Thomas Bray, the Rev. Daniel Brett, had behaved badly. The Rev. John Blair visited the province as an itinerant missionary; but returned enfeebled with poverty and sickness, having found it "the most barbarous place in the Continent." [*Classified Digest of the S. P. G.*, p. 20.]

<sup>212</sup>CURRITUCK, on Currituck Sound, in the northeastern corner of North Carolina, a few miles below the Virginia line, seems to have been the last stopping-place for Keith and Talbot, before they turned back. They found no passage convenient for travel, and they had learned enough of the region to report that the Church of England was practically unknown in North Carolina.

<sup>213</sup>"For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek."—Romans i, 16.

<sup>214</sup>In Princess Anne County, Va., the Presbyterians had already made considerable inroads. [George MacLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church* (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1947), pp. 96, 254, 255, 268, 169].

<sup>215</sup>"Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us."—Hebrews xii, 1.

<sup>216</sup>The practice of paying the clergymen in tobacco, in Virginia and Maryland, led to a good deal of disagreement and unpleasantness. When tobacco was scarce and brought a good price, the ministers were forced to accept money figured at a price much lower than the current market. These bickerings continued steadily through the colonial period, and culminated in 1756 in the agitation over the Tobacco Act of 1756. The clergy

brought several actions for damages on the ground of the invalidity of the Act, in one of which Patrick Henry "laid the foundation of his fame by resorting to dubious legal tactics." In the end, the question was carried to England, where the clergy lost the suit. [William Wilson Manross, *History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York and Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1935), pp. 75-76.]

<sup>217</sup>George Keith's daughter had married a Quaker, George Walker, of Kirketan [Kickotan], by the James River; and Keith found to his great satisfaction that her children were being brought up as members of the Church of England. [Ethyn Williams Kirby, *George Keith* (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1942), pp. 141-142.]

<sup>218</sup>The Rev. GUY SMITH was minister of Abingdon Parish, Gloucester county, Va., from 1702 to 1719, and perhaps before and after. He died about 1721. [George MacLaren Brydon, quoted in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XVI, 338.]

<sup>219</sup>See Note 123, *supra*.

<sup>220</sup>The BURWELLS were a large family in Virginia.

<sup>221</sup>HAMPTON, the county-seat of Elizabeth City County, was one of the older towns of Virginia.

<sup>222</sup>"But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves."—St. James i, 22.

<sup>223</sup>It is probable that many, if not a majority, even of the first colonists who came over in 1634 to MARYLAND were Protestants, and at least nominal members of the Church of England. There was already a settlement of Virginia Anglicans on the Isle of Kent, which was eventually adjudged to be included in the Maryland patent. The Anglicans built a chapel at St. Mary's, the first settlement. The Rev. William Wilkinson was there about 1650, but was compelled to engage in trade for his support. In 1675, there were three clergymen in the province. The condition of the Church was lamentably poor; and its poverty was the subject of an appeal by the Rev. John Yeo (1676) to the archbishop of Canterbury. The province passed under Protestant control after the Revolution of 1688, and a royal governor.

It was to Maryland that the Rev. Thomas Bray went as commissary; and though he spent a short time there, he recognized the needs of the Church in Maryland in particular and the Church in the colonies in general. His influence has been far-reaching in the foundation of parochial and lending libraries, in the founding of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Bray Associates, and work among prisoners and other underprivileged classes. [William Wilson Manross, *History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York and Milwaukee, 1935), pp. 35-37; Edgar L. Pennington, *The Reverend Thomas Bray* (Church Historical Society Publication No. VII, 1934).]

<sup>224</sup>ANNAPOLIS, at first called Providence, was settled in 1649 by Puritan exiles from Virginia. Later it bore in succession the names of Town at Proctor's, Town at the Severn, Anne Arundel Town, and finally (1694) Annapolis in honour of Princess Anne, then heir to the throne of Great Britain. In 1694, it was made the seat of the new government as well as a port of entry. St. Anne's Church was founded there in 1692. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., II, 63.]

<sup>225</sup>This should be Thomas Tench, president of the Maryland Council (1702-1704).

<sup>226</sup>Sir THOMAS LAWRENCE, former secretary of Sir Lionel Copley, colonial governor of Maryland, assumed the government of the province provisionally on the death of Gov. Copley, on or about Sept. 12, 1693. Col. Francis Nicholson, who had been inducted into the office, but was in England, did not return until July, 1694. [*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VII, 334.]

<sup>227</sup>See Note 83, *supra*.

<sup>228</sup>*The Power of the Gospel in the Conversion of sinners in a Sermon Preached at Annapolis in Maryland* (Annapolis, 1703).

<sup>229</sup>"He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.

"(But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given; because that Jesus was not yet glorified.)"—St. John vii, 38-39.

<sup>230</sup>The Rev. HENRY HALL signed the Declaration of Uniformity, Jan. 10, 1698. [*HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XVI, 332.] He is listed as minister at All Saints' Parish, Calvert, Md., and at Christ Church Parish, Calvert, Md., in 1694. [Frederick L. Weis, *The Colonial Churches and the Colonial Clergy of the Middle and Southern Colonies, 1607-1776* (Lancaster, Mass., 1938), pp. 20, 83.]

<sup>231</sup>See Note 229, *supra*.

<sup>232</sup>See Note 229, *supra*.

<sup>233</sup>"For by one Spirit are we all baptised into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free: and have been all made to drink into one Spirit."—1 Corinthians xii, 13.

<sup>234</sup>The Rev. JOSEPH COLBATCH, Anglican clergyman in Maryland. Attended St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford. B. A., Oriel College, Oxford, 1694. Ordained by bishop of London, July 4, 1694. Took charge of All Hallows Parish, in Arundel County, Maryland; continued till his death (Jan., 1734). A clergyman of high character. A year before his death, the bishop of London invited him to England that he might there be consecrated to the episcopate and then return to Maryland as suffragan of the bishop of London in the province. He was not permitted to leave. Such was the opposition to a resident bishop in Maryland that the government issued a writ of *ne exeat*, prohibiting his departure. [William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit* (1859), p. 86.]

<sup>235</sup>See Note 229, *supra*.

<sup>236</sup>The Rev. JOHN LILLINGSTON, rector of St. Paul's Parish, Talbot County, Md., was recommended as a suitable suffragan bishop for the bishop of London in America. [Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1938), p. 106.]

<sup>237</sup>"For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them."—Ephesians ii, 10.

<sup>238</sup>The Rev. STEPHEN BORDLEY signed the Declaration of Uniformity, Dec. 7, 1696. Listed to Maryland. [*HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XVI, 329.] He was serving at St. Paul's Parish (Kent), 1697-1710. [Frederick L. Weis, *The Colonial Churches . . . of the Middle and Southern Colonies* (Lancaster, Mass.), p. 86.]

<sup>239</sup>See Note 16, *supra*.

<sup>240</sup>See Note 44, *supra*.

<sup>241</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>242</sup>"The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son: the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him."—Ezekiel xviii, 20.

<sup>243</sup>The Rev. RICHARD SEWALL signed the Declaration of Uniformity, Dec. 7, 1696. Listed to Maryland. [HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, XVI, 338.] He is found serving in Shrewsbury Parish, 1692; in North Sassafras Parish, Cecil County, 1697-1723; at St. Anne's Church, Middletown Delaware, 1704-1707; in St. Paul's Parish, Kent, 1709-1710; at Wye Mills, Talbot, Md., 1717. [Frederick L. Weis, *The Colonial Churches and the Colonial Clergy of the Middle and Southern Colonies, 1607-1776* (Lancaster, Mass., 1938), pp. 22, 61, 71, 86, 90, 106.]

<sup>244</sup>Robert French was a member of the Governor's Council of Pennsylvania in 1700. [Record of Pennsylvania Marriages Prior to 1810 (Harrisburg, 1880), II, 624.]

<sup>245</sup>See Note 121, *supra*.

<sup>246</sup>The Rev. GEORGE ROSS (1679-1754), missionary to Delaware. Second son of David Ross of Balbair. M. A., Edinburgh, 1700. Studied theology under Meldrum of Edinburgh, and thought of becoming a Presbyterian minister. After ordination in the Church of England, he served for a time as chaplain on a man-of-war. Sent by the S. P. G. as missionary to New Castle (1705). After about three years he moved to Chester, Pa. The S. P. G. suspended his stipend for his removal; but he returned to England and was reinstated. On his voyage back to America, he was captured by a French man-of-war (1711), and carried to Brest, being treated in inhumane fashion. Released. Returned to Chester. Soon resumed his mission at New Castle, where he remained till his death. [Edgar L. Pennington, *The Reverend George Ross, S. P. G. Missionary at New Castle, Delaware* (Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Oct., 1936); Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *The Anglican Church in Delaware* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1947), pp. 7-14.]

<sup>247</sup>See Note 38, *supra*.

<sup>248</sup>JASPER YEATES (Jan. 18, 1696/7) was one of 36 men who signed an address to Gov. Francis Nicholson on behalf of the Church in Philadelphia [William Stevens Perry, *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania* (1871), pp. 5-7.] He was one of the signers (1704) of an address by "the Minister and Vestry of Chester, alias Uplands, in Pennsylvania, to the Society" [*Ibid.*, pp. 22-24.]

In 1705, he signed an "Address from St. Paul's Church in Chester, Pennsylvania," to the S. P. G., commending the work of the Rev. Henry Nichols in reducing the people there "from Quakerism's Errors and heresys to embrace true Christian principles backt with undeniable Arguments and very exemplary life and Conversation," and urging that a school be provided in that "very centre of Quakerism" [*Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.] He and other vestrymen (Sept. 1, 1709) wrote to the S. P. G., extolling the late Mr. Nichols' good qualities and reviewing criticisms and scandalous rumours concerning the Rev. George Ross [*Ibid.*, 53-54].

He and the vestry wrote to the Society (July 14, 1710), complaining of the attitude of the Rev. Thos. Jenkins and speaking favourably

of the Rev. George Ross [*Ibid.*, pp. 58-59]. In an account of the building of St. Paul's Church, Chester, enclosed in the Rev. Mr. Ross' letter of June 21, 1714, Mr. Yeates is described as a benefactor of the parish, as one who "wished well to the Church of England & longed to see its primitive worship set up amongst them," and "put life into this proposal & prosperously brought it to pass." "Mr Yeates, a zealous assertor of our constitution in Church & State, must be allowed to have been the main promoter of the founding of St. Paul's upon Delaware." [*Ibid.*, pp. 78-80.]

<sup>249</sup>See Note 37, *supra*.

<sup>250</sup>"For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments: and his commandments are not grievous."—1 St. John v, 3.

<sup>251</sup>"The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me, He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God.

"And he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain."—2 Samuel xxviii, 3-4.

<sup>252</sup>See Note 222, *supra*.

<sup>253</sup>On Sept. 1, 1703, the Rev. JOHN TALBOT wrote to the secretary of the S. P. G., expressing his gratitude for the allowance he had received from the Society, mentioning his losses, and alluding to the high price of clothing in the colonies.

"Mr Keith & I have preached the Gospel to all Sorts & Conditions of Men, we have baptized Severall scores of Men Women & Children, Chiefly those of his old Friends . . . we have gathered Several Hundreds together for the Church of England and what is more to build houses for her Service."

Four or five churches are being built in New Jersey; three are to be built in North Carolina, "to keep the People together lest they should fall into Heathenism, Quakerism, &c."; three are to be built in the Lower Counties about New Castle, besides those at Chester, Burlington, and Amboy. Talbot again commends Col. Francis Nicholson's zeal for the Church; he asks for more books, especially against the Quakers and the Anabaptists.

He laments the lack of an episcopate in America, and states that the Presbyterians, Independents, and other sectaries have a great advantage in being able to ordain their ministers and keep up a supply. For lack of a resident bishop, the Church of England in the colonies is continually losing ground to the dissenting bodies.

While "we count ourselves happy . . . under the Protection and Fatherly Care of the Right Rev<sup>d</sup> Father in God Henry L<sup>d</sup> BP of London, & we are all satisfied that we can't have a greater Friend & Patron than himself," still "there is such a great Gulph fixt between, that we can't pass to him nor he to us; but may he not send a Suffragan?" "The Quakers Compass Sea & Land to make Proselytes, they send out yearly a parcel of Vagabond fellows that ought to be taken up, & put in Bedlam, rather than suffer<sup>d</sup> to goe abt railing & raving ag<sup>st</sup> the Laws & Orders of Christ & his Church."

Wherever he and Keith have gone, they have been active. [S. P. G., A1, No. cxxv; Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1938), pp. 94-98.]



<sup>254</sup>"Then they that gladly received his word were baptized: and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls.

"And they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers."—Acts ii, 41-42.

<sup>255</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>256</sup>See Note 38, *supra*.

<sup>257</sup>"Then Jesus said unto them, Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees."—St. Matthew xvi, 6.

<sup>258</sup>"Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints."—St. Jude 3.

<sup>259</sup>See Note 222, *supra*.

<sup>260</sup>See Note 144, *supra*.

<sup>261</sup>See Note 254, *supra*.

<sup>262</sup>"But the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto children's children;

"To such as keep his covenant, and to those that remember his commandments to do them."—Psalms ciii, 17-18.

<sup>263</sup>See Note 144, *supra*.

<sup>264</sup>See Note 38, *supra*.

<sup>265</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>266</sup>"And beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge."—2 St. Peter i, 5.

<sup>267</sup>According to the *Errata*, should be "Hamton." Unidentified.

<sup>268</sup>See Note 254, *supra*.

<sup>269</sup>See Note 144, *supra*.

<sup>270</sup>"But ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost,

"Keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life."—St. Jude 20-21.

<sup>271</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>272</sup>There were several men named Townsend at Oyster Bay at the time of Keith's visit, *e. g.*, Henry, James, John, Redduck, and probably others. [*Oyster Bay Town Records* (New York: Thos. A. Wright, 1924), II, 1691-1704, pp. 728-730, 739-740.]

<sup>273</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>274</sup>"For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven."—St. Matthew xxii, 30.

<sup>275</sup>"But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light."—1 St. Peter ii, 9.

<sup>276</sup>Possibly Isaac Smith, who married Susannah Richards, May 16, 1714, according to the marriage records of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

[John B. Linn and William H. Egle, eds., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd series (Harrisburg, 1878), VIII, 237.]

<sup>277</sup>See Note 233, *supra*.

<sup>278</sup>See Note 34, *supra*.

<sup>279</sup>See Note 34, *supra*.

<sup>280</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>281</sup>See Note 275, *supra*.

<sup>282</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>288</sup>"And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory."—1 St. Timothy iii, 16.

<sup>284</sup>They that trust in the Lord shall be as mount Zion, which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever.

"As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people from henceforth even for ever.

"For the rod of the wicked shall not rest upon the lot of the righteous; lest the righteous put forth their hands unto iniquity.

"Do good, O Lord, unto those that be good, and to them that are upright in their hearts.

"As for such as turn aside unto their crooked ways, the Lord shall lead them forth with the workers of iniquity: but peace shall be upon Israel."—Psalms cxxv.

<sup>285</sup>In Feb., 1695, there was no school at Woodbridge, N. J. "John Brown of Amboy, or any other person that might be suitable for that employ, was to be 'discoursed with' by a Committee appointed for that purpose. The following month Mr. Brown was engaged at a salary of £24 sterling to keep a free school for the next year."—[William A. Whitehead, *Contribution to the Early History of Perth Amboy and Adjoining Country* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1856), p. 394.]

<sup>286</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>287</sup>Unidentified.

<sup>288</sup>The Rev. SAMUEL SHEPARD was pastor of the Independent congregation at Woodbridge, N. J., 1605-1703. [Frederick L. Weis, *The Colonial Churches and the Colonial Clergy of the Middle and Southern Colonies, 1607-1776* (Lancaster, Mass., 1938), p. 105.]

<sup>289</sup>See Note 283, *supra*.

<sup>290</sup>See Note 16, *supra*.

<sup>291</sup>See Note 144, *supra*.

<sup>292</sup>"I hate vain thoughts: but thy law do I love."—Psalms cix, 113.

<sup>293</sup>"Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new."—2 Corinthians v. 17.

<sup>294</sup>See Note 266, *supra*.

<sup>295</sup>"Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord."—1 Corinthians xv, 58.

<sup>296</sup>"I have seen an end of all perfection: but thy commandment is exceeding broad.

"O how love I thy law! It is my meditation all the day."—Psalms cix, 96-97.

<sup>297</sup>From a "Summary Account of the State of the Church in the Province of Pennsylvania," as it was laid before the clergy, Oct. 5, 1704, by the appointment of Lord Cornbury and Col. Nicholson:

"Mr Andrew Rudman, late Swedish Minister, by the direction of Mr George Keith serves (at Oxford near Frankfort in the County of Philadelphia) . . . in hopes of Encouragement from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Society. The Church has been long since built, & the people lately reduced from Quakerism are not so able or willing, as could be wished, to support a Minister." [William Stevens Perry, *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania* (1871), p. 504.]

<sup>298</sup>"Let that therefore abide in you, which ye have heard from the beginning. If that which ye have heard from the beginning shall remain in you, ye also shall continue in the Son, and in the Father."—1 St. John ii, 24.

<sup>299</sup>"Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word:

"For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,

"Which thou hast prepared before the face of all people;

"A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel."—St. Luke II, 29-32.

<sup>300</sup>"I exhort, therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men;

"For kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.

"For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour;

"Who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth."—1 St. Timothy ii, 1-4.

<sup>301</sup>See Note 300, *supra*.

<sup>302</sup>See Note 295, *supra*.

<sup>303</sup>"God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."—St. John iv, 24.

<sup>304</sup>JOSHUA CARPENTER was one of the Assembly for Philadelphia. He was one of the 36 signers of the address of the Philadelphia churchmen to Gov. Nicholson, Jan. 18, 1696/7. [William Stevens Perry, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania* (1871), pp. 5-7, 21.]

<sup>305</sup>The Rev. JOHN TALBOT wrote to the Secretary of the S. P. G. from Philadelphia, April 7, 1704, enthusiastically commending his travelling companion:

"Mr Keith has fought the Good fight, finisht his Race, bravely Defended the Faith, Done the Church of Christ true & Laudable Service, w<sup>ch</sup> I trust will be regarded here, and Rewarded hereafter. I may say he has done more for the Church than any. Yea than all that have been before him. He Came out worthy of his Mission & of the Gosp<sup>ll</sup> of Christ. Taking nothing of the Heathen that he came to Proselyte; besides his Ordinary or rather Extraordinary Travells, his Preaching Excellent Sermons upon all Occasions, his Disputes w<sup>th</sup> all sorts of

Heathens & Hereticks, (who Superabound in these Parts, Africa has not more Monsters than America). He has written & Printed 10 or a Doz: Books & Sermons, much at his own Charge, & Distributed them freely, w<sup>ch</sup> are all Excell<sup>t</sup> in their kind, and have done Good service all along shoar."

"Now since Friends must part," he said, "I wish, I pray God, shew some token upon him for Good, that he may arrive safe in England where he would be, that all his Adversaries may see it and be Asham'd of their Impious Omens &c."

Mr. Talbot proceeds to review the journey, starting at Boston, where the two ministers were not able to agree. He tells of the work in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. He urges the sending of controversial and devotional literature as well as Prayer Books. The titles of some of the books he names indicate the special interests of the clergy of his time. Since Keith, "our Champion," is gone, it is incumbent on the rest to "make a running fight" on the heresies and ignorance. [S. P. G. A1, No. clxxxii; Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1938), pp. 98-101.]

<sup>806</sup>See Note 303, *supra*.

<sup>807</sup>See Note 195, *supra*.

<sup>808</sup>JOHN SEYMOUR, colonial governor of Maryland (1703-1709), was a native of England. During his administration the dread of the Roman Catholics in the province was so great that many acts were passed by the legislature against their entering the province. They continued to arrive. There were occasional inroads of the French during his time, and there were raids of the pirates along the Chesapeake. Events were shaping themselves to put an end to the proprietary sway. [*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VII, 335; Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History* (London, 1887), V, 260.]

<sup>809</sup>HENRY COMPTON (1632-1713), English divine. 6th and youngest son of the second earl of Northampton. Educated at Queen's College, Oxford. Travelled in Europe. After the restoration of Charles II, became cornet in a regiment of horse, but soon quitted the army for the Church. After a further period of study at Cambridge and again at Oxford, he held various livings. Bishop of Oxford (1674). Bishop of London (1675). Appointed a member of the Privy Council, and entrusted with the education of the two princesses—Mary and Anne.

He showed a liberality most unusual at the time to Protestant dissenters, whom he wished to reunite with the Established Church. Held several conferences on the subject with the clergy of his diocese; in the hope of influencing candid minds by means of the opinion of unbiased foreigners, he obtained letters treating of the question from Le Moyne, professor of divinity at Leiden, and Jean Claude, the famous French Protestant divine.

Strongly opposed to Roman Catholicism. On the accession of James II, he lost his seat in the Council and his deanery in the Chapel Royal. For his firmness in refusing to suspend John Sharp, rector of the Church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, whose anti-papal writings had rendered him obnoxious to the king, he was himself suspended.

At the Revolution, Compton embraced the cause of William and Mary. He performed the ceremony at their coronation. His old position was restored to him. Chosen as one of the commissioners for revising the liturgy.

During Anne's reign, he remained a member of the Privy Council, and was one of the commissioners appointed to arrange the terms of the union of England and Scotland. To his bitter disappointment, his claims to the primacy were twice passed over. He died at Fulham, July 7, 1713.

He had conspicuous defects both in spirit and intellect, but was benevolent and philanthropic. He was a successful botanist, and published several theological works, a translation from Italian of the *Life of Donna Olympia Maladichini*, and a translation from the French of the *Jesuits' Intrigues*. [*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., VI, 814.]

<sup>310</sup>George Walker.

<sup>311</sup>See Note 300, *supra*.

<sup>312</sup>The Rev. ISAAC GRACE, Anglican clergyman, was ordained for Virginia, July, 1703; received the Royal Bounty, Aug. 5, 1703. Officiated one year in Elizabeth City Parish, Elizabeth City County, Virginia, about 1704, while the incumbent, the Rev. James Wallace, was in England. Grace returned to England. Matriculated at the age of 24 in Brasenose College, Oxford (1706). In 1716, he became rector of Saxmundham, Suffolk, England. [George MacLaren Brydon, quoted in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XVI, 332.]

<sup>313</sup>"And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To day shalt thou be with me in paradise."—St. Luke xxiii, 43.

<sup>314</sup>See Note 200, *supra*.

<sup>315</sup>See Note 35, *supra*.

<sup>316</sup>It was just three days short of two years since Keith had landed in Boston, June 11, 1702—June 8, 1704. The passage from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, to Boston had taken six weeks and one day; the passage from Virginia to the Downs took eight weeks and three days.

<sup>317</sup>Parable of the Sower: St. Matthew xiii, 3-9; St. Mark iv, 3-9; St. Luke viii, 5-8.

<sup>318</sup>The Rev. THOMAS CLAYTON, Anglican clergyman. B. A., Cambridge, 1690; M. A., 1694. First rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia. Sent out by Bishop Compton (1695). Signed Declaration of Uniformity, Jan. 19, 1698. Under his auspices, the first Christ Church edifice was erected. On his arrival, he found not more than fifty persons to make up his congregation. In two years, it "was increased to 700, and a handsome church erected." Died about two years after his arrival of a contagious distemper caught in visiting the sick. [Benjamin Dorr, *Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia* (1841), p. 280; *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XVI, 330.]

<sup>319</sup>The five Church of England ministers settled in Pennsylvania (and Delaware) at the time of Keith's report were Evan Evans (Philadelphia), Henry Nicholls (Chester), Andrew Rudman (Oxford), George Ross (New Castle), Thomas Crawford (Dover).

<sup>320</sup>For a chronological list of clergymen licensed overseas during the period covered by Keith's *Journal*, see *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XVI, 324-325..

<sup>321</sup>See Note 11, *supra*.

<sup>322</sup>See Note 254, *supra*.

<sup>323</sup>See Note 233, *supra*.

<sup>324</sup>See Note 83, *supra*.

<sup>325</sup>"Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme:

"Or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well."—1 St. Peter ii, 13-14.

<sup>326</sup>"Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake."—Romans xiii, 5.

<sup>327</sup>"Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation."—Hebrews xiii, 7.

"Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief: for that is unprofitable for you."—Hebrews xiii, 17.

<sup>328</sup>"Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them."—Romans xvi, 17.

<sup>329</sup>"That there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another."—1 Corinthians xii, 25.

<sup>330</sup>"Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment."—1 Corinthians i, 10.

"Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?"—1 Corinthians i, 13.

<sup>331</sup>"Wherefore the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men."—Isaiah xxix, 13.

<sup>332</sup>"Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them: wherefore should they say among the people, Where is their God?"—Joel ii, 17.

<sup>333</sup>"Take with you words, and turn to the Lord: say unto him, Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously: so will we render the calves of our lips.

"Asshur shall not save us; we will not ride upon horses: neither will we say any more to the work of our hands, Ye are our gods: for in thee the fatherless findeth mercy."—Hosea xiv, 2-3.

<sup>334</sup>"This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me."—St. Matthew xv, 8.

<sup>335</sup>"And he said, When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth."—St. Luke xi, 2.

<sup>336</sup>"The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen."—2 Corinthians xiii, 14.



## Part III

### Appendices and Indices

#### Appendix A

#### The Westminster Confession and Catechism

Because of the importance of the Westminster Confession (referred to above, Part II, Footnote #67,) in English Church history, a more detailed note is given.

The Parliamentary history of the Confession dates from June 12, 1643:

"The Parliament passed an Act entitled 'An ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament for the calling of an Assembly of Divines and others, to be consulted with by the Parliament for the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and clearing of the Doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations.' As the pre-existing government of the Church by bishops had ceased to exist, and yet the Church of Christ in England remained, the only universally recognised authority which could convene the representatives of the Church in General Assembly was the National Legislature.

"The persons who were to constitute this Assembly were named in the ordinance, and comprised the flower of the Church of that age; subsequently about twenty-one clergymen were superadded to make up for the absence of others. The original list embraced the names of ten lords and twenty commoners as lay-members, and one hundred and twenty-one divines. Men of all shades of opinion as to Church government were embraced in this illustrious company—Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, and Erastians. In the original ordinance four bishops were named, one of whom actually attended on the first day, and another excused his absence on the ground of necessary duty; of the others called, five became bishops afterward, and about twenty-five declined attending, partly because it was not a regular convocation called by the King, and partly because the Solemn League and Covenant was expressly condemned by His Majesty." [Hetherington's *History of the Westminster Assembly*, p. 99.]

The Scottish General Assembly also sent as delegates to Westminster the best and ablest men she had—ministers Alexander Henderson, the author of the Covenant, George Gillespie, Samuel Rutherford,

and Robert Baillie; and elders Lord John Maitland and Sir Archibald Johnston.

"Only sixty appeared the first day, and the average attendance during the protracted sittings of the Assembly ranged between sixty and eighty. Of these the vast majority were Presbyterians, after the Episcopalians had withdrawn subsequently to the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant. The vast majority of the Puritan clergy, after the example of all the Reformed churches of the Continent, were inclined to Presbyterianism, and in many places, especially in the city of London and its neighbourhood, had erected presbyteries.

"There were only five prominent Independents in the Assembly, headed by Dr. Thomas Goodwin and Rev. Philip Nye. These were called, from the attitude of opposition to the majority which they occupied, 'The Five Dissenting Brethren.' In spite of the smallness of their number, they possessed considerable influence in hindering, and finally preventing, the Assembly in its work of national ecclesiastical construction, and their influence was due to the support they received from politicians without the Assembly, in the Long Parliament, in the army, and, above all, from the great Cromwell himself.

"The Erastians, who held that Christian pastors are simply teachers and not rulers in the Church, and that all ecclesiastical as well as all civil power rests exclusively with the civil magistrate, were represented in the Assembly by only two ministers—Thomas Coleman and John Lightfoot, assisted actively by the learned layman, John Selden. Their influence was due to the fact that Parliament sympathised with them, and as a matter of course all worldly politicians.

"The prolocutor, or moderator, appointed by the Parliament, was Dr. Twisse, and after his death he was succeeded by Mr. Herle. On the 1st of July, 1643, the Assembly, after hearing a sermon from the prolocutor in the Abbey Church, Westminster, was organised in Henry the VII's Chapel. After the weather grew cold, they met in the Jerusalem Chamber, 'a fair room in the Abbey of Westminster.'

"When the whole Assembly had been divided for despatch of business into three equal committees, they took up the work which was first assigned to them by Parliament—namely, the revision of the 'Thirty-nine Articles,' the already existing Creed of the English Church. But on the 12th of October, shortly after subscribing the Solemn League and Covenant, Parliament directed the Assembly 'to consider among themselves of such a discipline and government as may be most agreeable to God's Holy Word.' They consequently entered immediately upon the work of preparing a Directory of Government, Worship, and Discipline. Being delayed by constant controversies with the Independent and Erastian factions, they did not complete this department of their work until near the close of 1644."

Then the Westminster Assembly began to prepare for the composition of a Confession of Faith. A committee was appointed to prepare and arrange the main propositions to be embraced therein. The committee consisted of the Rev. Drs. Gouge, Temple, and Hoyle; Messrs. Gataker, Arrowsmith, Burroughs, Burgess, Vines, and Goodwin, with the Scottish commissioners.

"The Committee at first wrought at the work of preparing the Confession and Catechism simultaneously. 'After some progress had been made with both, the Assembly resolved to finish the Confession first, and then to construct the Catechism on its model.' They presented in a body the finished Confession to Parliament, December 3, 1646, when it was recommended, that the 'Assembly should attach their marginal notes, to prove every part of it by Scripture.' They finally reported it as finished, with full Scripture proofs of each separate proposition attached, April 29, 1647.

"The Shorter Catechism was finished and reported to Parliament November 5, 1647, and the Larger Catechism April 14, 1648. On the 22nd of March, 1648, a conference was held between the two Houses, to compare their opinions respecting the Confession of Faith, the result of which is thus stated by Rushworth:

"'The Commons this day (March 22nd), at a conference, presented the Lords with a Confession of Faith passed by them, with some alterations (especially concerning questions of discipline), viz.: That they do agree with their Lordships, and so with the Assembly, in the doctrinal part, and desire the same may be made public, that this kingdom, and all the Reformed churches of Christendom, may see the Parliament of England differ not in doctrine.'

"The Confession of Faith, Directory of Public Worship and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms were all ratified by the Scotch General Assembly as soon as the several parts of the work were concluded at Westminster."—[*A Commentary on the Confession of Faith . . .* by the Rev. Archibald Alexander Hodge, D. D. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, 1869), pp. 36-39.]

On October 13, 1647, the Long Parliament established the Presbyterian Church in England experimentally, "until the end of the next session of Parliament, which was to be a year after that date." Before that date, the Parliament had become subservient to the power of the army under Cromwell. Presbyteries and synods were soon superseded by his Committee of Triers.

## Appendix B

### The Doctrine of God and of the Holy Trinity According to the Westminster Confession

#### Chapter II, "Of God and of the Holy Trinity"

"Section I—There is but one only living and true God, who is infinite in being and perfection, a most pure spirit, invisible, without body, parts, or passions, immutable, immense, eternal, incomprehensible, almighty, most wise, most holy, most free, most absolute, working all things according to the counsel of His own immutable and most gracious will, for His own glory; most loving, gracious, merciful, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin; the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him; and withal most just and terrible in His judgments; hating all sin, and who will by no means clear the guilty.

"Section II—God hath all life, glory, goodness, blessedness, in and of Himself; and is alone in and unto Himself all-sufficient, not standing in need of any creature which He hath made, not deriving any glory from them, but only manifesting His own glory, in, by, unto, and upon them: He is the alone fountain of all being, of whom, through whom, and to whom, are all things; and hath most sovereign dominion over them, to do by them, for them, or upon them, whatsoever Himself pleaseth. In His sight all things are open and manifest; His knowledge is infinite, infallible, and independent upon the creature, so as nothing is to Him contingent or uncertain. He is most holy in all His counsels, in all His works, and in all His commands. To Him is due from angels and men, and every other creature, whatsoever worship, service, or obedience, He is pleased to require of them.

"Section III—In the unity of the Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power and eternity; God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. The Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; the Son is eternally begotten of the Father; the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son." [Referred to *above*, Part II, Footnote #68.]

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February 20, 1861—August 15, 1951

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By Bishop Whittle

Priest: June 24, 1887  
By Bishop Whittle

**CURES**

St. John's Church, Warsaw, and North Farnham Parish, Virginia, 1886-1889.

Rector, Christ Church, Brooklyn, New York, 1889-1906.

Rector, St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, Maryland, 1906-1942; Founder of St. Paul's School for Boys of that Parish.

Ten times a Deputy to the General Convention, the last being to that of 1943 in Cleveland, after he had retired from the parochial ministry, and when he was eighty-two years of age.

**AUTHOR**

*Texas George: The Life of the Rt. Rev. George Herbert Kinsolving, Bishop of Texas, 1892-1928* (1932).

Contributor to *Historical Magazine*: "The One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the Diocese of Maryland" (March, 1934); "St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, Maryland, 1692-1942" (December, 1942); "Reminiscences of General Conventions" (June, 1946); "More Than a Prophet: An Appreciation of Phillips Brooks" (March, 1949); "The Religion of George Washington" (September, 1949); "The Religious Opinions of Thomas Jefferson" (September, 1951).

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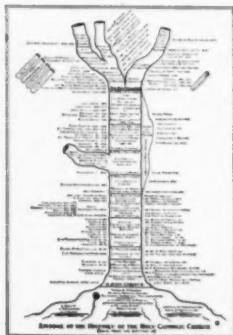
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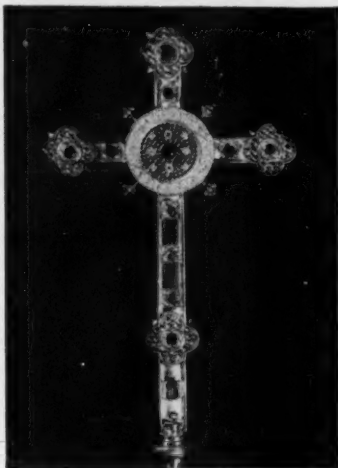
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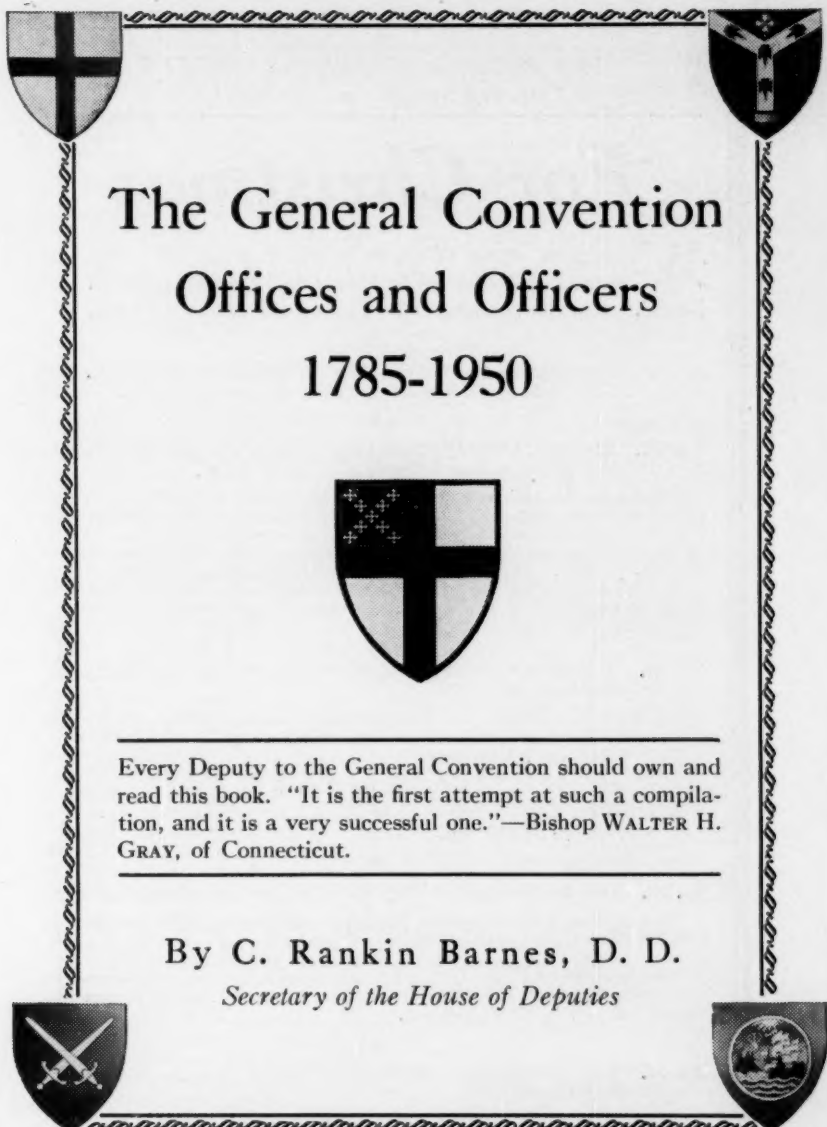
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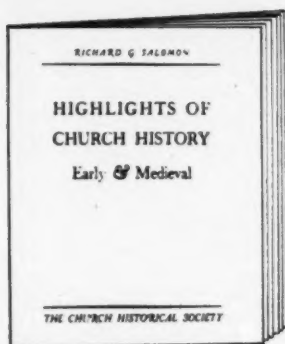
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FOREWORD BY

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# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*During the Year 1952*

**W**ILL "COME OF AGE" (D. V.), if the life span of twenty-one years applies to magazines as well as to persons. As evidence that HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has indeed "attained its majority," the Editors take pleasure in presenting this prospectus of Volume XXI.

*For March, 1952*

## "THE CAROLINE DIVINES NUMBER"

**WILLIAM LAUD, PRELATE AND CHAMPION OF ORDER**

By JAMES THAYER ADDISON

[Concerning this controversial figure in English history, Dr. Addison's concluding sentence is: "Though his methods and his political ideals have been gradually discredited by the passage of time, the Church of England today in its doctrine, discipline, and worship is essentially the Church to which Laud devoted his life." Therefore, no Churchman—English or American—can afford to be ignorant of his biography.]

**JOSEPH HALL, THE ENGLISH SENECA AND CHAMPION OF EPISCOPACY**

By JOSEPH H. HALL, III

[His famous defence of the English Church, entitled *Episcopacy by Divine Right* (1640), was followed by *An Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament* (1640 and 1641), an eloquent and forceful defence of the episcopal order, which drew virulent attacks upon Hall by Milton and other Puritan divines. The worthy Dr. Thomas Fuller said of him: "He was commonly called our English Seneca, for the purenesse, plainnesse, and fulnesse of his style. Not unhappy at *Controversies*, more happy at *Comments*, very good in his *Characters*, better in his *Sermons*, best of all in his *Meditations*."] ]

**THOMAS FULLER, HISTORIAN AND HUMORIST**

By JAMES THAYER ADDISON

[Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) refers more than once to "Tom Fuller" (1608-1661), whose *Church History of Britain* (1655) he "fell to reading till midnight." This and *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662) are considered Fuller's greatest works. Samuel Taylor Coleridge said of him: "Fuller was incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced, great man of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men."] ]

**JEREMY TAYLOR, PREACHER AND PASTOR**

By JAMES THAYER ADDISON

"No description of him equals that of George Rust in his funeral sermon: 'He had the good humor of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a schoolman, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a chancellor, the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety of a saint.' His *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* are immortal, and his *Liberty of Prophesying* and *Ductor Dubitantium* deserve to be. There has been no greater master of rhetoric in English literature, and his style is uniquely rich, sonorous, and full of classic reminiscence. As a theologian he is consistently Anglican, anti-Roman, and anti-Puritan."—*Dictionary of English Church History*.]



**For June, 1952**

**"THE GENERAL CONVENTION NUMBER"**

**THE GENERAL CONVENTIONS OF 1799 AND 1801**

By WALTER H. STOWE, Editor-in-Chief

[The Thirty-Nine Articles were never included in the American Book of Common Prayer until 1801. These two Conventions were responsible for their inclusion—in a somewhat revised form. These Conventions were the first to refuse confirmation to a bishop-elect; also to handle the problem of a bishop who resigned, and that of an assistant bishop.]

**GENERAL CONVENTIONS HELD IN BOSTON—1877 AND 1904**

By EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON, Historiographer of the Church

[In addition to expounding the significant actions of these two Conventions twenty-seven years apart—and the only two held in Boston prior to that of 1952—this article will set forth the state of the Church in 1877 and the advances shown in 1904.]

**THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1880**

By J. THAYER ADDISON, author of *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931*.

[Bishop William Stevens, Historiographer of the Church at the time, called this "The Missionary Convention," but Dr. Addison doubts the justice of the appellation. An appendix, "Ten Years' Growth of the Church, 1870-1880," by the Rev. John Henry Hopkins, Jr., is both interesting and valuable.]

**THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1919**

By C. RANKIN BARNES, Secretary of the House of Deputies, and author of *The General Convention: Offices and Officers, 1785-1950*.

[This Convention of a generation ago was a turning point in the history of the Church. There are many clergymen and laymen who remember it, although few now living were deputies to it. No one is better equipped than Dr. Barnes to tell the story of it.]

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"I thoroughly enjoy each number of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and keenly anticipate the record of new discoveries in the historical field."—The Rev. KENNETH D. PERKINS, Chaplain, U. S. N.

**For September, 1952**

**"PLANTING THE PRAYER BOOK IN PURITAN  
MASSACHUSETTS"**

By THOMAS E. JESSETT,  
*Historiographer of the Diocese of Olympia*

[This is a worthy subject in itself, but the Editors take especial pleasure in honoring the Church in Massachusetts at this time, since it is to be host to the General Convention of 1952—September 8-19, in Boston.]

**PART I  
INTRODUCTION**

Chapter

1. The Religious Situation in England During the Seventeenth Century.
2. The Church and the Early Settlements (1602-1627).
3. The Puritan Commonwealth (1628-1660).
4. Stress and Strain (1661-1685).

**PART II  
THE CHURCH IN COLONIAL MASSACHUSETTS**

5. The Lone Outpost (1686-1700).
6. The S. P. G. Infiltrates Massachusetts (1701-1722).
7. Attack and Counterattack (1722-1735).
8. A Steady Advance (1735-1768).
9. Divided Loyalties (1768-1776).

**PART III  
THE CHURCH IN THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS**

10. The Struggle for Survival (1776-1784).
11. Episcopacy Comes to Massachusetts (1785-1797).
12. Conclusion.

**EPILOGUE**

"Growth and Progress During a Century and a Half,  
1797-1952"

**APPENDICES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**For December, 1952**

**H**ISTORICAL MAGAZINE is embarrassed with riches—not monetary, we hasten to add—but with many important and interesting articles already in hand.

The Editors cannot at this writing specify positively the make-up of this issue, but it will probably consist of the following:

**MOTHER CHURCH — DAUGHTER CHURCH — SISTER CHURCH: THE RELATIONS OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND**

By RICHARD G. SALOMON

[Originally delivered before a conference of 100 clergy from the dioceses of Western New York, Rochester, and Niagara (Canadian), who earnestly requested its publication. The author is Professor of Church History in Bexley Hall, the Divinity School of Kenyon College.]

**THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN TENNESSEE**

By EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON

[The origins of what is now a strong diocese of 25,000 members, of whom 20,000 are communicants, are fascinating, not to say romantic. Bishop Otey was one of the greatest missionary bishops of the American Church. He directed these words to be inscribed on his monument: "First Bishop of the Holy Catholic Church in Tennessee." The author is Historiographer of the Episcopal Church.]

**THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH CAROLINA**

By ALBERT SIDNEY THOMAS

[In South Carolina, as in several other dioceses, the S. A. C. was the precursor of the modern diocesan board of missions. It was, therefore, the training school of both clergy and laity in teaching them their responsibility for building up and extending the Church within their own diocesan borders. The author is the retired Bishop of South Carolina and Historiographer of the Diocese.]

**THE EVOLUTION AND EARLY YEARS OF THE EPISCOPAL ACADEMY IN PHILADELPHIA**

By EDWIN A. GARRETT, III

[This is the story of a famous preparatory school, over 150 years old, whose roots go back over 200 years. This article is a first fruit of the increased attention being paid American Church History in our theological seminaries, and is written by a student of Professor Nelson W. Rightmyer, of the Divinity School in Philadelphia.]

**THE WEALTH OF THE CLERGY IN VIRGINIA IN 1791**

By G. MACLAREN BRYDON

[For the most part, the clergy in the post-Revolutionary era were terribly poor, but this article shows that in Virginia this was not the case. This article will raise several questions: among others, "Have not historians underestimated the awful inroads of deism, atheism, and general irreligion during the two decades, 1790-1810?"]



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